HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Warning to GOP:

Moving Left Courts Election Disaster

By M. STANTON EVANS

Is the Republican party about to re-enact the election of 1960? Will the GOP once more contrive to dissipate a victory that only months ago seemed firmly within its grasp?

No one can answer such questions with assurance. But there are signs abroad that the 1968 election could turn out to be a replay of 1960, and that the final results could be correspondingly bitter for the GOP. The race is yet to run and things could change in the next few months. But present infighting among Republicans and the drift of popular opinion are hauntingly similar to the developments of eight years past.

Central to the Republican drama is Richard Nixon, who secured the 1960 nomination without serious opposition and who has been moving to repeat that convention victory by much the same procedure in 1968.

Conducting his usual harassment campaign, also in the 1960 pattern, is New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. Now as in previous elections Rockefeller stands little chance of getting the nomination. But he stands a very good chance of destroying Republican prospects of victory in the fall.

Rockefeller's tactic in 1960 was to spread the word that Nixon was a "loser," that he could not appeal to the urban vote, that he represented the outmoded politics of the Eisenhower Administration, and so forth. This did nothing to move Rockefeller toward the nomination, but it did hurt Nixon and the Republican party in the eyes of the voting public. And it had a notable impact on Nixon's conduct of the presidential campaign, contributing to the Republican loss in November.

Of all these developments, the effect on Nixon's campaign strategy is the most mysterious and perhaps the most important. Just why Nixon flew to New York during the 1960 convention to meet with Rockefeller on a forced liberalization of the party platform has never been satisfactorily explained.

GARY W. RUSSELL

One of these three men—Reagan, Nixon or Rockefeller—will probably be the Republican nominee for President of the United States this year. But how the party and the nominee campaign will determine whether the GOP will once again "snatch defeat from the jaws of victory" as it did in 1948, and to a lesser degree, in 1960.

Nixon staff members said they knew nothing of the transaction when it occurred and survivors of the '60 campaign still profess themselves baffled by it. We know only that Rockefeller's approach to Nixon was somehow persuasive and that it played a substantial role in producing Nixon's defeat.

There is reason to fear this strange interaction between the declared Republican candidates is to some extent being repeated now. Once more the air is filled with Rockefeller's cries of "loser." Once more the result is a decline in Nixon's popularity and Republican chances. And once more there are reports that Nixon is drifting toward a liberal election strategy. If this re-enactment is played out to the end, the available evidence suggests it could produce another GOP debacle come this fall.

The chief weapon deployed against Nixon by the Rockefeller forces is the work of the poll-takers. The polls are used by Rockefeller and his partisans to suggest Nixon cannot win and therefore must be turned down by the convention.

Newsweek for July 8 offers a typical statement of the Rockefeller approach when it asserts: "He has built his whole strategy around the polls . . . and by this benchmark Rocky's campaign has been a success. Last week's nationwide Gallup Poll showed him topping Democratic front-runner Hubert Humphrey while Nixon trailed 5 points behind the Veep."

As election results during this campaign year and others have demonstrated, such polls have limited utility at best. They tend to be both inaccurate and volatile where individual candidates are concerned.

The Rockefeller margin over Humphrey cited by *Newsweek* had completely evaporated, for example, when Gallup returned to the electorate two weeks later. Also, poll results as national averages are in large part irrelevant to the business of electing a President. The significant question is *where* a candidate's supporters are located, and whether they add up to majorities in enough states to garner 270 votes in the electoral college. The national averages do not give us this necessary information.

Even without these provisos, there are serious questions to be raised about the survey figures so beloved of the Rockefeller forces. Supporters of the New York governor rejoice over poll results showing Nixon a "loser." They blandly overlook the fact that the figures cited have developed in the wake of Rockefeller's own attack on Nixon—that the constant downgrading of Nixon by the Rockefeller camp has done more than anything else to pin the "loser" tag on the former vice president. The nature and chronology of the Rockefeller campaign illustrate this clearly.

Rockefeller got into the presidential race April 30. A month before (March 21) he had declined to enter the lists against Nixon, saying his candidacy would be "divisive." It appears that Rockefeller was right the first time. His campaign has indeed been divisive, spreading derogatory comment about Nixon and drilling home the idea that Nixon cannot win the election.

Typical of Rockefeller's commentary in this vein was his statement to *U.S. News & World Report* (June 24): " . . . I have a record as a proven

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NEWSPAPER

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Capital Briefs

● Presidential polls taken in several **Southern states** reveal that Richard Nixon does better against George Wallace than Ronald Reagan. The reason for this, says one top South Carolina pro, "is that Nixon has the 'experience' issue over the California governor."

● Some delegates to the GOP National Convention are saying they won't vote for Nixon unless he promises to bar New York's liberal Mayor **John Lindsay** from the No. 2 spot on the ticket.

● One major reason many are opposed to Lindsay: He's on the wrong side of the "law and order" issue. The New York mayor, as Human Events pointed out last week, recently appointed the Rev. **Milton Galamison** to the city's Board of Education. Galamison has been arrested nine times for public disturbances and has made alliances with such radical extremists as Jesse Gray, who has called for guerrilla warfare in the cities. In keynoting the founding of the Communist-spawned W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America in 1964, Galamison received a standing ovation when he called for an increase in sit-ins, stall-ins and mass demonstrations to spur the enforcement of civil rights legislation.

● Gov. **Raymond Shafer** of Pennsylvania, considered to be a key Rockefeller supporter, is actually not very hot about the New York governor's candidacy. Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.) and former Keystone State Gov. William Scranton had to almost break Shafer's arm before he would back Rocky. At one point prior to Shafer's reluctant endorsement, Scranton angrily told Scott that he would make sure that Shafer came out for Rocky because Shafer "knew which side his bread was buttered on."

● After piously protesting for many months that he didn't want to divide the **Republican party**, Nelson Rockefeller flatly proclaimed last week that neither Nixon nor Reagan could win the election against the Democrats. The newly organized Black Independents and Democrats for Rockefeller has kept in the spirit of things by calling Nixon a "bad sport, a proven loser, a man with a forked tongue and doubtful sincerity."

● The paramilitary **Black Panther organization**, whose "Minister of Defense" Huey Newton is on trial in Oakland for killing a policeman, has hired an interesting law firm to represent the Panthers in court. Two members of the firm—Charles R. Garry and Benjamin Dreyfus—took the 5th Amendment in 1957 when the House Committee on Un-American Activities had asked them if they had ever been members of the Communist party.

● **Hubert Humphrey**'s studied efforts to disassociate himself from the Johnson Administration recall a 1960 speech by the Man from Minnesota. Humphrey was then accusing Richard Nixon of attempting to duck responsibility for the Eisenhower farm policy. "He has been an important part of this [Administration] all the way. He has been in the high legislative councils. . . . Mr. Nixon now wants to be President . . . but first he has to get rid of that spot. He is like Lady MacBeth, who said, 'Out, damned spot.' But the spot is still there. He cannot get rid of it."

● **Tom Hayden**, former president of Students for a Democratic Society and New Leftist par excellence, recently made a hurried, quiet trip to Paris at the insistent urging of North Vietnamese negotiators there. Hayden will say only that he spent two weeks talking with the Hanoi representatives and had one "long session" with the chief U.S. negotiator, Averell Harriman. From his talks Hayden brought back the observation that the American team in Paris is "split into factions." LBJ "doesn't trust Harriman," he said, "because Harriman was never really for the bombings of the north. The people really making the decisions about the talks are Johnson, Abe Fortas and Clark Clifford. And they have their agents in the lower levels of the delegation."

● One of presidential hopeful Gene McCarthy's youthful campaigners, his 19-year-old niece **Patty McCarthy**, last week related some of her campaign observations to a Chicago Daily News Women's Department reporter, including: "I get so mad because as soon as some people hear the word communism, they think it's entirely bad—they get unreasonable. Maybe some people are better off under totalitarianism, if this is what they know. Democracy hasn't been that perfect here. We have problems, so why should we insist ours is the only way?" The reporter commented that "indignation heightened the color of her already-suntanned face"; turning it, perhaps, a bright red?

● Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) has virtually conceded that he and other supporters of **Abe Fortas** for chief justice will be unable to cut off a threatened GOP-Southern Democratic filibuster against the nomination.

● Leaders of a **militant black nationalist group** have agreed "to execute" Ronald Reagan, the Los Angeles Times reported last week. Quoting an authoritative source, the paper said the plot on Reagan's life had been uncovered by the FBI. The two young Negroes who attempted recently to firebomb the governor's residence were members of the terrorist group, the Times said.

● Former California Gov. **Edmund G. (Pat) Brown** has not only signed the "Recall Reagan" petition, but contributed money to the campaign as well, according to leaders of the anti-Reagan drive.

● The indefatigable **H. R. Gross** (R.-Iowa) is collecting embarrassing tidbits on top advisers to Hubert Humphrey. At least five of the vice president's closest confidants have been involved in conflict-of-interest improprieties or scandals, Gross says.

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A Visa for Red Rudi?

Red Rudi Dutschke, an admitted "professional revolutionary" who named his only son after "Che" Guevara, may soon be admitted into the United States, courtesy of the U.S. State Department. One highly reliable report says that a tentative decision to grant him a visa has already been made.

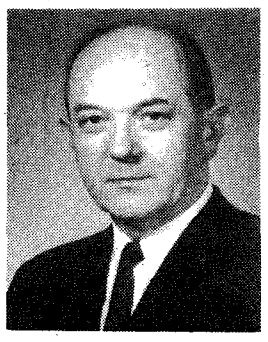
Born March 7, 1940, in East Germany, Dutschke has become Europe's leading student revolutionary, calling for violence against established order in such countries as Holland, England and West Germany. His cause is the overthrow of the "corrupt establishment" in the West.

By his own account he has drawn ideas not only from the Communist classics—Marx, Engels and Lenin—but also from Mao Tse-tung and Herbert Marcuse, the Berlin-born philosopher who now teaches in San Diego.

The 28-year-old Rudi's greatest achievement thus far has been to inspire a series of savage student riots in West Germany where he attends school. Heeding Dutschke's call to revolution, students, chanting their war cry, "Ho-Ho-Ho Chi Minh," went on rampages in virtually every major German city in April. Almost everywhere they went they blockaded and sometimes stoned the local printing plants of conservative publisher Axel Springer, whose newspapers, notably the mass-circulation *Bild-Zeitung*, have denounced the student's leftist tendencies.

The students also broke store windows, erected barricades across streets and fought bitter pitched battles with police. The violence was worst of all in West Berlin, where a mob of 3,000 young revolutionaries broke almost every lower-floor window in Springer's shiny skyscraper, The Wall, and set fire to some 20 delivery trucks.

Dutschke now wants to come to the United States, presumably to spread his doctrine of violence. Marcuse, himself, reportedly wants to see Rudi, though the San Diego philosopher has denied it.



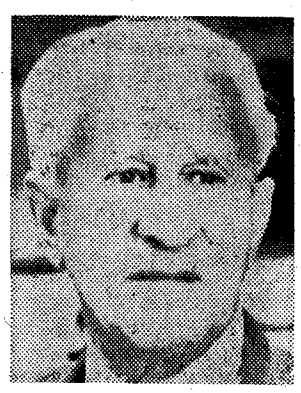
RUSK

Despite Rudi's Red background, top State Department officials have been pressing Secretary of State Dean Rusk to open America's doors to the Germany revolutionary. They say this will prove U.S. "good will" and argue that the issue of "academic freedom" is involved.

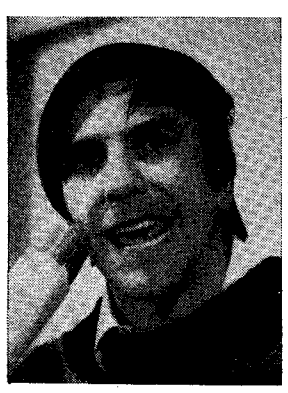
At the behest of Mrs. Dutschke, the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Frankfurt, Germany, has already granted Rudi immediate relative status. This means if he is granted a visa he can enter the United States on a non-quota basis. Rudi is the "immediate relative" of Mrs. Dutschke, an American citizen whose maiden name was Gretchen Klotz.

Moreover, an initial recommendation to let Red Rudi into the United States has also been approved by the State Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs. Rudi, says the recommendation, should be let into the United States on humanitarian grounds. According to one report, this is the advice that has been okayed at the highest department levels.

Presumably, the recommendation is based on the fact that Dutschke is still suffering from a slight memory loss as a result of being felled by three bullets fired by Joseph Bachmann, a professed admirer of Adolph Hitler. But State Department sources also acknowledge that Dutschke is well on the road to a full recovery and said last week that he was travelling with his wife through Italy. He also has had no trouble discussing his visa application and consular officers in Europe have been impressed by his articulateness.



MARCUSE



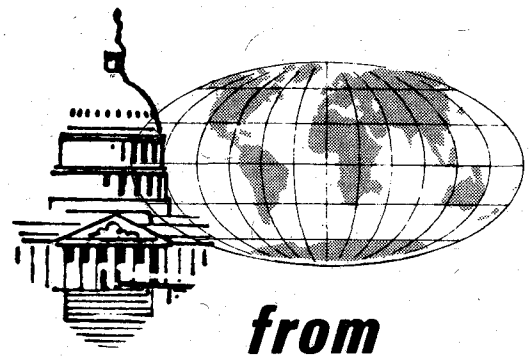
DUTSCHKE

While the State Department says the question of granting Rudi a visa is complicated, there is actually no question that he can be denied the right to come to America. Section 212(a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act lists more than 30 major reasons the U.S. government can use to bar aliens, including the advocacy of violence.

A portion of this section also states that aliens can be barred "who the consular officer or the Attorney General knows or has reason to believe seek to enter the United States solely, principally or incidentally to engage in activities which would be prejudicial to the public interest, or endanger the welfare, safety or security of the United States. . . ."

Thus, Red Rudi, revolutionary extraordinaire, could easily be stopped from coming to the United States. But he won't be if the liberals in the State Department have their way.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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Inside Washington

Demos Find Crime Pays

The Democratic Administration's policy of being "soft on criminals" appears to be paying off—at least for the Democratic party. Disclosed recently was the fact that the Seafarers International Union chipped in $100,000 to the Democratic party almost immediately after Secretary of State Dean Rusk refused to extradite to Canada convicted felon Harold C. Banks, former boss of the SIU's Canadian district (see *Human Events*, last week, page 4).

Banks had jumped $25,000 bail in Canada and fled south across the border to avoid serving a five-year jail term on a conviction for hiring goons who inflicted a double rupture and a fractured skull on a rival union leader. The Canadians demanded Banks back after he was taken into U.S. custody.

The U.S. commissioner ruled in favor of the Canadians. Rusk's legal adviser, Leonard C. Meeker, concurred. But Rusk, who normally hates to rock the diplomatic boat in the slightest fashion, decided to ruffle Canada's feathers by refusing to permit extradition. Within two weeks of this unprecedented finding, the SIU began filling the coffers of the Democratic party.

Last week *Life* magazine revealed another case in which the Democrats were proving that crime can pay after all. Lawrence L. Callanan, the beefy boss of St. Louis' Pipefitter's Union, has been chunking in huge amounts of cash to top Democrats—including $55,000 to the Johnson-Humphrey campaign in 1964—ever since LBJ, under mysterious circumstances, commuted Callanan's labor-racketeering prison sentence four years ago. The commutation, which had not been checked with the head of the Justice Department's criminal division, as was the rule, enabled Callanan to again hold union office.

The record reveals, said *Life*, that Callanan's "Pipefitters Voluntary, Political, Educational, Legislative, Charity and Defense Fund" had made $145,069 in national campaign contributions, as well as many thousands to state and local candidates, since 1964. This fund, which is under Callanan's personal control, has never been audited, nor has its condition ever been reported to its member-contributors.

While federal law prohibits the use in campaigns for national office of union funds that have been raised on a compulsory basis, *Life* charges there is no question but that "everyone had to contribute" to the Callanan fund.

"Each member was given—and all signed—a pledge to ante up at least $1 for every day worked. Members of other Pipefitter locals wishing to work in eastern Missouri had to volunteer $2 per working day. Anyone objecting was transferred to a short-duration job and shortly was out of work."

The major beneficiaries of the Callanan fund have all been Democrats. They include Senators Edward Long (Mo.)—$13,869; Robert Kennedy (N.Y.)—$10,000; Stuart Symington (Mo.)—$5,000; Philip Hart (Mich.)—$2,500; William Proxmire (Wis.)—$1,000; Fred Harris (Okla.)—$500; and Representatives Richard Ichord (Mo.)—$5,000; Melvin Price (Ill.)—$4,200; Donald Fraser (Minn.)—$4,000; Leonor Sullivan (Mo.)—$3,000; Richard Bolling (Mo.)—$2,500.

LONG

FRASER

This Democratic gravy train, however, may not necessarily last forever. Unlike Banks, Callanan is not yet out of the woods. Having already served time in jail for armed robbery and extortion, he will have to stand trial in federal court this fall for violation of the federal corrupt practices law—specifically for conspiring to make illegal campaign contributions out of union funds.

But Callanan's prosecution has not been pushed with much zeal from on high. For years the Justice Department ignored the evidence strongly indicating that the Pipefitter's chieftain was wrongfully using union monies for political purposes. Nevertheless some labor racketeering investigators in the department continued to push for a probe.

Then, after a special grand jury looked into the case, an initial indictment was drawn up charging 97 separate counts of federal law violation. But the draft had to receive the approval of LBJ's "Mr. Big," Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark. Under Clark's "guidance," the counts were progressively pared to one. In the federal trial next month, *Life* points out, Callanan may get additional breaks in that the federal judge and the U.S. marshal are all tied in with political friends of Callanan.

Meanwhile, Callanan will still have time to pump more of his union members' money into Democratic campaigns. And if he's convicted, there's always the chance for another commutation.

Should Republicans be afraid of the word conservative? Pollster Dr. George Gallup recently told U.S. News & World Report *that if the parties in this country were labeled "liberal" and "conservative," "I am sure that the 'conservatives' would have a majority. If you take the Nixon vote and add the Wallace vote—most of the Wallace people would be classified as 'conservatives'—you would have a clear 'conservative' majority."*

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D.C. Paper Strike

Should the American Newspaper Guild, traditionally one of the nation's most militantly liberal unions, honor a picket line established by a union which practices racial discrimination in its apprenticeship programs? This dilemma became an issue last week as members of the Stereotypers Union Local 19 walked off their jobs at the Washington *Post*.

The *Post* had offered the stereotypers a weekly pay increase of $32 (bringing the workers' weekly paycheck to $187), but the union was demanding $40 and decided to strike. Washington's two other daily newspapers also closed down, bringing the first news blackout to the Nation's Capital in 20 years.

Following the stereotypers' walkout, the local branch of the Newspaper Guild met to voice its sympathy with the strike and refusal to cross the picket line. But *Post* reporter Nicholas Von Hoffman, a former aide to radical urban organizer Saul Alinsky, rose and charged that the Stereotypers Union, locally and nationally, was guilty of racial discrimination in its apprenticeship training program; there were no Negroes on the picket line, argued Von Hoffman, so why should the guild's member-reporters, many of whom had written at length about the evils of prejudice and racism, honor a "racist picket line"?

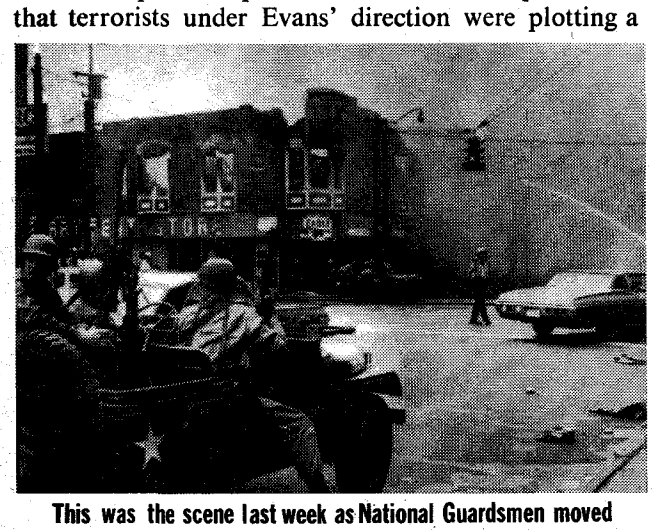
However, when Von Hoffman introduced a resolution against honoring the picket line, Guild members, revealing the depth of their liberal feelings, beat it back by a voice vote.

Conspiracy in Cleveland

Federal probers are convinced that the Cleveland riots last week were the product of a black nationalist conspiracy. They reject completely Attorney General Ramsey Clark's assertion that the outbreak was a "random act."

Key figure in the conspiracy, the experts say, was Fred "Ahmed" Evans, a local black power leader who has been linked to the pro-Peking Revolutionary Action Movement.

In May 1967, Det. Sgt. John Ungvary, head of the Cleveland police department's subversive squad, said that terrorists under Evans' direction were plotting a



This was the scene last week as National Guardsmen moved into the riot-torn section of Cleveland hit by black extremists.

"black revolution" to coincide with "a war between Red China and the United States."

Evans, who was arrested during the riots last week, was charged with shooting to kill. "If my carbine hadn't jammed I would have killed you three," police quoted him as saying. "I had you in my sights when my rifle jammed."

Evans told police that he and 17 others had organized the sniper attacks that resulted in the deaths of three policemen. Told that three of his snipers had been slain, Evans said, "They died for a worthy cause," according to police.

Phil Hutchings, militant head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, told newsmen that the Cleveland outbreaks were "the first stage of revolutionary armed violence." Refusing to condemn the murder of policemen, Hutchings said:

"It is never the people themselves who move to fight at first. It was always the oppressing force, in this case the police, which force them to fight, which force them to get together . . . they have to organize to fight back."

In Los Angeles, Police Chief Thomas Reddin reported that "great numbers" of black nationalists in that city are arming themselves and readying themselves for guerrilla warfare.

"But whether this means they are getting ready for the same type of thing that took place in Cleveland, I just don't know," he stated.

Reddin said that reports that violence was planned in several cities were "really frightening." He said that such violence was a "new type of revolution," explaining that "wanton murder and firing on individuals does not fit into the riots, insurrections and revolutions as we have known them in the past."

Fortas Prospects Dim

The prospect that Abe Fortas will be elevated to chief justice by the U.S. Senate in 1968 grows dimmer as the weeks go by. While pro-Fortas senators are still considered in the majority, the militant, bipartisan opposition is considerable and has a number of factors working to its advantage:

• The pro-Fortas contingent lacks the required two-thirds Senate majority to impose cloture and cut off prolonged debate. This is now a fact acknowledged by both sides.

• The haste to adjourn. With 22 Democrats up for re-election, at least half of them facing extremely uncertain outcomes, there will be irresistible pressure to adjourn early. The House will be particularly insistent on that, as all of its members are up for election and face many tough fights.

• Strong resentment in the Senate against LBJ for appointing two cronies to exalted positions. Columnists Robert Allen and John Goldsmith quote one leading liberal Democrat as follows:

"If I have to, I'll vote for Fortas and Thornberry, but I'll hold my nose when I do so. The President's appointment of these two cronies is a plain outrage. Of all the notable jurists and distinguished members of the bar in our country of more than 200 million people, all the President could do in his final days in office was to nominate two close henchmen.

"It was an act of crass and crude ward politics; patronage of the shabbiest kind. It just goes to show that Johnson can never really rise above his primary wheeler-dealer instincts and habits. What is particularly astounding about it all is that he is now so sensitively conscious of his place in history. He is going to great lengths to make sure it's all written out the way he wants it.

"Yet when it comes to appointing the chief justice and an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, he has no qualms about stooping to the war-politics level and naming two cronies. It beats me. I guess it all gets down to one thing: He just can't rise above himself and really be a statesman. He's a hack politician at heart and can't get over it."

• The liberal *Texas Observer* says that Judge Homer Thornberry, whom LBJ has nominated for associate justice, is far more liberal than some of the news stories have indicated. As a congressman, noted the *Observer*, "Thornberry was one of the most liberal Texans in Washington; he was the one liberal from the South on the House Rules Committee. As a member of the bench, he has been regularly liberal, particularly, but not by any means only on civil rights."

• One tactic Fortas supporters are using is to label those opposed to Fortas as being anti-Semitic. The charge, however, is demonstrably false. Two of the witnesses to testify against Fortas—Marx Lewis and Benjamin Ginsburg—are Jewish.

Clark Scored

Senators from both sides of the aisle and on both sides of the Fortas matter were sizzling mad at the Department of Justice last week. What irked them more than anything else was Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark's outrageous statement that the senators fighting Fortas' nomination "oppose securing equal rights and civil rights for the people." Clark also added: "I would say that the basis for the opposition, in truth, is their opposition to the very great advances made in civil rights under the law."

Clark's statements were immediately repudiated by even liberal Republican lawmakers. Sen. Edward Brooke (R.-Mass.), a Negro, who said he intended to vote to confirm Fortas, demanded that Clark apologize for his statement. Sen. James Pearson (R.-Kans.), another member of the liberal wing of the GOP, blasted Clark's tactics as "press relations blackmail."

Senate lawmakers were also steamed up by the Justice Department's preparation of a 27-page memorandum on Fortas declaring that the associate justice deserved "extremely high marks" for his opinions on the High Court. Most senators were stunned at the blatant propaganda effort on behalf of Fortas, with many saying it was just one more reason why Atty. Gen. Clark should be fired.

Percy's Ploy

Sen. Charles Percy's (R.-Ill.) last-minute endorsement of Nelson Rockefeller has prompted wide-ranging speculation as to why Percy has shifted to the New York governor at this late date. Some think that Percy, believing Nixon was not going to choose him as a running mate, decided to take a plunge on Rocky in the hope of winding up on his ticket should the New York governor pull an upset.

Whatever happens to Rocky, Percy, some believe, feels that his public endorsement of the New Yorker will greatly aid his own ambitions. A grateful Rocky, for example, might very well throw his delegate votes to Percy as a possible dark horse candidate should the 1968 convention be stalemated.

Even if that opportunity never arrives, Percy is now in a good spot to inherit Rocky's position within the liberal wing of the Republican party.

If Rockefeller fails in his grasp for the presidential nomination this year—as the crystal ball now reads—it will most likely be his last try for national office, and the GOP's liberal wing will be, in effect, leaderless. Rather than have this prestigious mantle fall on the shoulders of some "unreliable" like John Lindsay, Senators Mark Hatfield or Ed Brooke—none of whom are especially close to the New York governor—Rocky is now very likely to select Chuck Percy as his "heir apparent."

AID Scandal

Liberal Sen. Stephen Young (D.-Ohio) attacked AID last week, charging that its officials are engaged in a "scandalous" waste of taxpayer dollars and called for their dismissal. "It is high time that many of these officials be removed from the public trough," Young said. "Our appropriation for these overpaid and unneeded AID officials should be drastically cut."

Young disclosed that in South Viet Nam alone, 782 AID officials make more than $25,000 a year. AID's Saigon director makes $44,000 a year; 28 of his aides make $41,700 a year; 82 receive $35,000; 262 receive more than $30,000; and 409 others make $25,000 a year.

Young, who made a first-hand tour of AID operations earlier this year, said that many AID officials have literally nothing to do.

"A typical example of AID maladministration concerns five forestry experts, so-called, each with an annual income exceeding $38,000. They live in air-conditioned, high-rent apartments and work in an area where there has been no timber whatsoever for many years."

Young also charged that some AID officials are also engaged in illegal black market operations. "The truth is that American officials in Washington and in South Viet Nam seem to encourage such illicit operations instead of cracking down on them," Young said.

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POLITICS '68

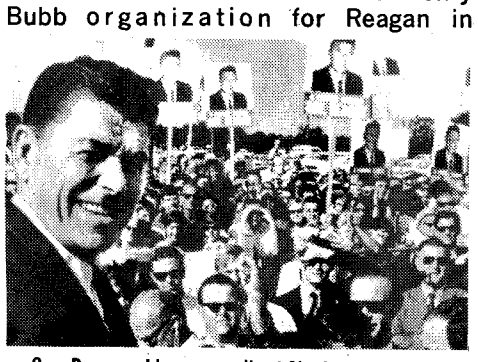
REAGAN ON 3rd BALLOT?

Gov. Ronald Reagan's optimism over the possibility of his pulling off an upset in Miami is based on an exhaustive analysis of the list of Republican delegates to the GOP convention. Prepared under the direction of Reagan's key man in Washington—**Ed Gillenwaters**—this list, with a breakdown on how each delegate would vote, was taken out to California and shown to the governor and his wife only several weeks ago. It reportedly impressed Reagan so much that he decided to partially alter his "non-candidacy" status.

Gillenwaters compiled his survey because there was grumbling among some Reagan supporters—including several high-placed California backers—over the fact that strategist Clif White would not reveal his **delegate count** to them. Although White has always played his cards close to his vest, these Reaganites felt he had stumbled in his dealings with a few delegations and that they had to find out where the delegates stood so that they would know where to expand their pro-Reagan effort.

The Gillenwaters list supposedly demonstrated that **Richard Nixon's position** was extremely "soft" and that many delegates who would vote for the former vice president on the first ballot would then shift to Reagan. This is what the experts around Reagan—including White—had long been saying, but the specific details of the new list were considered convincing. The Reagan camp now feels it can win the nomination for the Golden State governor on the **third ballot**. Many observers have described White as "supremely confident."

Though most of the experts believe this is wishful thinking, the Gillenwaters list helps to explain the **new effort and enthusiasm** that has come into the Reagan campaign since the beginning of July. Both the governor and his supporters have greatly expanded their activities. In recents weeks the Henry Bubb organization for Reagan in



Gov. Reagan addresses a rally at Charlottesville, Va., during his pre-convention quest for delegates.

Topeka, Kan., has sponsored a nationwide TV show on behalf of Reagan; the American Conservative Union—and particularly Secretary Robert Bauman—have become highly active in the Reagan campaign; and Reagan himself has been energetically trying to persuade delegates to back his unofficial candidacy as he bounded around the country.

The governor, furthermore, has chartered at least four planes for the convention, commandeered **800 to 1,000 rooms in Miami** and will have, along with Nixon and Rockefeller, a special communications trailer just outside the convention hall.

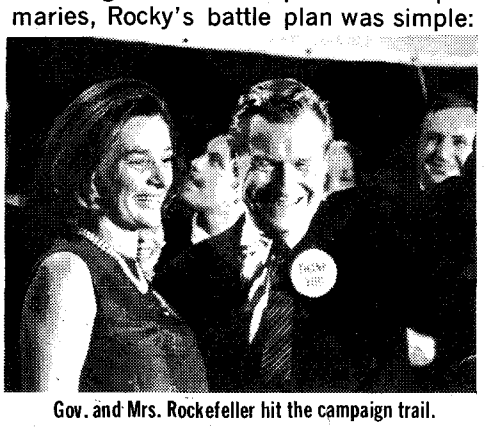
Politicos, however, still feel Reagan is very much **an underdog** since he failed to test his popularity in the primaries and since there are no known polls which can persuade the delegates that Reagan is a sure winner. Nevertheless, Reagan supporters continue to claim the governor will win the convention in Miami.

ROCKY'S $10-M IMAGE

Nelson Rockefeller's **massive advertising campaign** to push his rating up in the polls came to an end just prior to the GOP convention, but not before he had spent a personal fortune.

The New York Times reported that the minimum estimated cost was $3.5 million—$1.5 million for newspaper ads and "in excess" of $2 million for TV, while the authoritative Advertising Age magazine placed the total closer to $10 million.

Having ducked the presidential primaries, Rocky's battle plan was simple:



Gov. and Mrs. Rockefeller hit the campaign trail.

to saturate the news media with **pro-Rocky propaganda** in the hopes the polls would eventually show him a "sure winner" by the time of the Miami conclave. To achieve this goal, he contracted the Jack Tinker ad agency, which had been instrumental in re-electing him New York governor in 1966. The Tinker ad campaign was built around a presentation of Rockefeller's "positions" on the issues and attempted to portray Rocky as a dynamic leader.

Eight full-page newspaper ads and a series of half-hour, five-minute and one-minute television tapes were prepared to convey the Rockefeller image and message. The campaign was kicked off with a **half-hour speech** by Rockefeller on network television June 11.

Fourteen states containing over 60 per cent of the U.S. population were selected as the market for the Rocky blitz: New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, California, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Michigan and Washington, D.C. Aside from being electorally important, these states, said Tinker executive Myron McDonald, were those "where the delegates could most likely be swayed."

The total sum of the campaign was **377 pages of advertisements** appearing in 54 newspapers in 40 major cities, and **462 minutes of television time per week** over 100 stations in 30 cities; also, there were 146 minutes of Rockefeller advertising on network television. All of the TV spots appeared during evening "prime time" or close to it, with most showing the New York governor answering carefully prepared questions in a carefully contrived situation.

(At the same time, other pro-Rocky ads were being placed in newspapers and on TV by such groups as People for Rockefeller and local—state and city—campaign organizations. These were separate from the main Rockefeller-directed blitz prepared by the Tinker agency.)

The effectiveness of the ad-oriented Rockefeller campaign will not be known until the delegates begin casting their votes in Miami Beach August 8, but there have been a few **advance indications.** Ohio, with an important and as yet uncommitted bloc of 58 convention delegates, was one of those states picked out for an especially intense Rockefeller ad saturation; the Washington Post said the drive constituted "one of the most massive pre-convention efforts in Ohio history."

Yet, on July 18 the **Ohio GOP organization** released the results of a poll it had commissioned matching both Rockefeller and Nixon against the likely Democratic candidate, Humphrey. These figures showed Nixon running a full 2 percentage points ahead of Rockefeller when put up against HHH.

Such figures tend to refute Rockefeller's contention that he is the strongest GOP candidate, as based exclusively on poll results. But Rocky is ignoring all previously published polls and has himself commissioned a national poll and a series of individual polls in selected states, cities and congressional districts; this will be portrayed as Rocky's **"ultimate poll"** and his backers are counting on its showing up favorably the effect of the multi-billion-dollar ad blitz.

The results of the Rockefeller-purchased "poll" will be released on the eve of the Republican convention, which opens August 5. It remains to be seen if the delegates can be convinced that such a poll, paid for by Rocky and taken at the most advantageous stage in his campaign, will seriously influence anyone.

PARTY LOYALTY?

Rep. **Paul McCloskey** (R.-Calif.), the liberal Republican who defeated Shirley Temple Black in a bitter primary fight last year, is reportedly sizzling over a recent press conference held by Gov. **Ronald Reagan.**

McCLOSKEY

McCloskey was taken to task by Reagan for his failure to come out for Dr. **Max Rafferty**, the conservative superintendent of public schools who is battling liberal Democrat Alan Cranston for a seat in the U.S. Senate.

Reagan was asked if he felt that McCloskey's declaration that he could not support Rafferty was in violation of the "eleventh commandment" which says that Republicans should not speak ill of other Republicans.

Reagan remarked that "I would suggest that it does [violate it], and I would suggest that maybe a young congressman has a little more to learn about **party loyalty**. . . ."

McCloskey, the reporter continued, explained he couldn't in good conscience vote for Rafferty because he had too many **philosophical differences** with him. Snapped back Reagan:

"Did Congressman McCloskey then declare that he is perhaps in sympathy philosophically with Mr. Cranston? If so, I think that would be interesting for Republicans who supported him to learn."

WALLACE DEFECTOR

A long-time supporter of presidential hopeful George Wallace has switched to Richard Nixon on the grounds that a vote for the ex-Alabama governor is a vote for Humphrey.

Thomas H. Hart, a Miami, Fla., realtor whose wife is a cousin of the ex-Alabama governor, recently told newspaper reporters:

"My wife and I will have nothing further to do with Gov. Wallace's campaign. I am convinced that a vote for Wallace is a vote for **Hubert Humphrey** for President—and that would be unfortunate for the nation."

A life-long Democrat, Hart said he made his decision after four months of wrestling with his conscience over the issue. He advised the **Wallace-for-President headquarters** in Montgomery, Ala., after Wallace leaders had pleaded with Hart to head up a fund-raising dinner in Miami on July 27.

While Hart said that both he and his wife think "a lot of Gov. Wallace as an individual," he also stated that "I know too much about the Wallace campaign to continue any further." People "simply don't realize . . . that they are throwing away their votes and helping Humphrey."

Hart also said that the times call for "the man best qualified" and that man, said Hart, is Nixon.

HHH's LEFTIST ADVISERS

Hubert Humphrey may deny it publicly, but he's working hard behind the scenes for a platform plank that would suit most of the Democratic doves on the Viet Nam issue. The vice president, furthermore, has put together a staff of foreign policy advisers, who, almost to a man, favor a softer line toward not only the war but the Communists in Asia.

HUMPHREY

Included among the soft-liners now advising Humphrey : Prof. **Edwin O. Reischauer**, former ambassador to Japan. Reischauer, an ex-member of the left-wing Institute of Pacific Relations, strongly favors recognition of Red China and recently criticized our involvement in Viet Nam on the basis that we have driven Ho Chi Minh closer to Mao Tse-tung. Another Humphrey adviser, **A. Doak Barnett**, professor of foreign area studies in the Foreign Service Institute of the State Department, also espouses a doctrine of appeasement toward the Asian Reds.

Equally indicative of Humphrey's switch to the left is that he has rejected an offer by **John P. Roche**, a White House adviser who has championed the war effort, to go to work for the vice president. Roche, an old Humphrey friend, was formerly chairman of Americans for Democratic Action and wrote speeches for Humphrey back in 1964.

Roche's presence on the Humphrey team, noted columnist Victor Lasky, "would be bad for the 'new image' the vice president is trying to project. Roche, therefore, will soon be back teaching at Brandeis University—a sadder but wiser man."

CHIP OFF THE BLOCK

Dwight David Eisenhower II, grandson of the former President, appears to be a right-wing chip off the old block. The 20-year-old Amherst junior, who is engaged to Richard Nixon's daughter Julie, has been traveling around the country campaigning for his future father-in-law.

While actively working for Goldwater in 1964 and Nixon now, David Eisenhower says that he would vote for Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller** if he received the Republican nomination, but that he just couldn't campaign for him.

"He and Humphrey would agree on everything but the little things," he recently told a Washington Star reporter, "and the point of having two parties would be lost."

David also indicated he would like Nixon to choose either **Gov. Reagan or Sen. Tower** for his running mate.

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NLRB Reverses Rule On Rehiring Strikers

From the *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*

The National Labor Relations Board, reversing its rule of 30 years' standing, has adopted a new rule enlarging the reinstatement rights of economic strikers who offer to return to work after their jobs have been filled by permanent replacements.

Formerly, the NLRB had uniformly held that such strikers, having been permanently replaced, had no reinstatement rights and "were thereafter entitled only to nondiscriminatory treatment as applicants for new employment."

The rule had followed from the Supreme Court's 1938 holding in *NLRB vs. Mackay Radio & Telegraph Co.* that during an economic strike an employer has:

". . .the right to protect and continue his business by supplying places left vacant by strikers. And he is not bound to discharge those hired to fill the places of strikers upon the election of the latter to resume their employment, in order to create places for them. The assurance by respondent to those who accepted employment during the strike that if they so desired their places might be permanent was not an unfair labor practice nor was it such to reinstate only so many of the strikers as there were vacant places to be filled."

Under the new rule, such replaced strikers are given a continuing right to reinstatement as openings occur, and they must be given preference in filing any job openings during some indefinite future period of time. If upheld by the courts, the rule may require major changes in methods of handling and recording job applications to assure that preference is given to replaced strikers.

The board ruled unanimously in a case involving the Laidlaw Corp., a wire manufacturer in Peru, Ind. (171-NLRB No. 175). Following a strike by part of its employes in January and February 1966, the company reinstated the strikers for whom there were job openings, but terminated 66 returning strikers whose jobs had been filled with permanent replacements. There was sufficient employment turnover within a few months to create openings for most of these 66, but the company made no special effort to recall them and filled the openings with new applicants. This action was entirely lawful under the board's existing rule.

On charges filed by the union in the present case, the board reversed its position and ruled as follows:

"We hold, therefore, that economic strikers who unconditionally apply for reinstatement at a time when their positions are filled by permanent replacements:

(1) remain employes; (2) are entitled to full reinstatement upon the departure of replacements unless they have in the meantime acquired regular and substantially equivalent employment, or the employer can sustain his burden of proof that the failure to offer full reinstatement was for legitimate and substantial business reasons. Accordingly, to the extent that Bartlett-Collins, Atlas Storage Division, Brown and Root, supra, and cases of similar import hold or infer otherwise they are hereby overruled."

The Copywriters' Union

By JERRY DELLA FEMINA

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A few weeks ago at a meeting of the executive committee of the Advertising Writers Association of New York, one of the members proposed that the club consider the idea of starting a union—a union for copywriters. Since 10 out of 11 people present said that they considered it an "interesting" idea, I'd like to tell you why the 11th person hated it. Right from the start.

If ever there was a group of people who did not need a union, it is the copywriters. We are the highest-paid group in the advertising business.

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"But what about those agencies that mass hire and then mass fire?" is the cry of those who favor the union.

What about them? Why should an agency be forced to keep writers on their staff that they can't afford?

And, as for those agencies that hire writers from good jobs with phony promises, there is a union that deals with them. It's the greatest union in the world. It meets every day in every major city at lunch time. The conversation between the union delegates goes something like this:

"Hey, did you hear that the Blank Agency just fired 15 guys?"

"Yeah, and somebody told me that their creative island is sinking fast."

"Boy, you wouldn't catch me dead near that place."

"Me too. I'd have to be really desperate before I'd go to work for those idiots."

And so, sooner or later, the Blank Agency can't hire a good writer for love or money. And their creative staff is made up of hacks and cubs who can't find a job anywhere else, plus a decent writer or two who are "resting" between good agencies.

Ten years ago I gave up a job at a newspaper because I refused to join a union that I considered immoral, irrational and insane. Since that time, that union has been responsible for turning New York City into a three-newspaper town.

I refuse to help this happen to the advertising agency business. So, if anyone is planning to start a union in any part of the advertising business, my agency address is 635 Madison Avenue. It would give me great pleasure to cross your picket line.

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George Wallace: Humphrey's Secret Weapon

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Why does former Gov. of Alabama George Wallace keep at it? He can get a lot of votes by running on his third-party ticket for President, but his persistence can only result in making it easier for his worst enemies. The better he does throughout the Southern states, the easier it will be for Hubert Humphrey or Eugene McCarthy to win nationally.

It wasn't so very long ago that Gov. Claude Kirk of Florida was saying that George Wallace was President Lyndon Johnson's secret weapon. Since then LBJ has removed himself from the picture. But Vice President Humphrey remains as Johnson's heir, with all that this could portend by way of making impossible pie-in-the-sky promises as the basis of the Democratic party's campaign program.

With people in the slums confidently expecting some new domestic "Marshall Plan" billions on the day after a Humphrey inauguration, there would most certainly be more rioting, more arson, more general lawlessness, once the inevitable period of disillusion had come. Is this what George Wallace wishes? Is this what his supporters, who are understandably attracted by his appeals for law and order, care to risk bringing about?

Candidate Richard Nixon has already said, at a press conference in Philadelphia, that neither he nor Hubert Humphrey would negotiate a deal with Wallace if the election were deadlocked and thrown into the House of Representatives. And what goes for Nixon and Humphrey must certainly go for Nelson Rockefeller and Eugene McCarthy, both of whom are further to the left on the political spectrum.

It must pique Wallace to know that the four presidential front-runners are surely all against sitting down with him no matter what the election circumstances might be. But if he is a realist, he must know that a Nixon success—or a dark horse miracle victory staged by Ronald Reagan—promises a more effective administration of anti-rioting and anti-arson law than anything we would get out of a Humphrey, a McCarthy or a Nelson Rockefeller.

It is not that the more leftist candidates hold the law in contempt; it is only that they would unleash those expectations of an Instant Utopia that must find ultimate sublimation in anarchy and destruction when the promised bit of Heaven fails to materialize.

When the realization dawns that he is actually behaving as Hubert Humphrey's most potent weapon, won't Wallace step to one side? He could have been a shoo-in as U.S. senator from Alabama if he had only waked to reality in time. He still has a future in Southern politics if he stays clear of any national fiasco. But if he persists in his course only to throw the election into the House, he stands to go down in history as the spoiled spoiler.

He could win the electoral votes of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and, possibly, another state or two. But, as Nixon has pointed out, this does not mean that the congressmen from these states would do his bidding. They would, as Nixon says, deliver their states to Hubert Humphrey in the House simply because Democrats would insist on behaving as Democrats. In case of a prospective tie vote, some deal would be made between the Democrats and the Republicans to share the fruits of the election. Wallace would be on the outside looking in.

Wallace stands to hurt Nixon by blunting the Republican upsurge that has been turning the South into a two-party region. He could win for Humphrey without throwing the election into the House. By naming Ronald Reagan as his vice presidential choice, Nixon might save the day for the Republicans in some of the states that would otherwise go to Humphrey or to Wallace himself. But no matter how the Republicans play it, Wallace will help the Humphrey or the McCarthy Democrats to some degree as long as he insists on running.

If the Republicans should by any chance nominate Rockefeller, the Wallace damage to the Republican party would not be less. For Rockefeller can hardly win the South under any circumstances, and he would lose votes in the North to Wallace on the law and order issue that Nixon, with his promise of law enforcement, might retain.

It all narrows down to one question: Does George Wallace want to make Hubert Humphrey or Eugene McCarthy President? If he does, he will go on running. If not, he will bow out of the picture.

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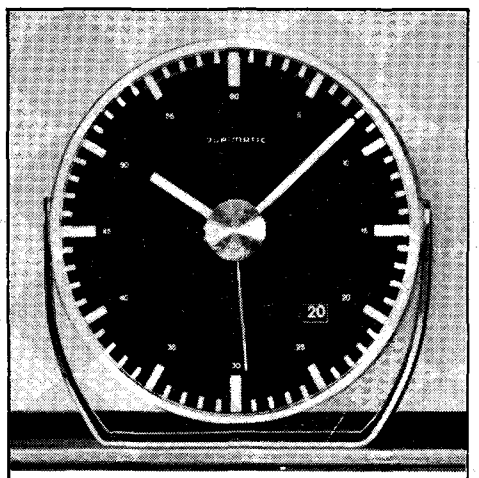

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Dead Letter?

The Kappel Report Is Too Critical to be Filed and Forgotten

Reprinted with permission from Barron's *National Business and Financial Weekly*, July 22, 1968

"Please, Mr. President," pleads the surfeited author of a letter to the Washington *Star*, "not another commission!"

It's certainly true that under the Johnson Administration, every subject of national controversy, from the proposal for a guaranteed annual income to riots in the cities, has been submitted to a platoon of prominent citizens for study. Explosive issues which might otherwise require politicians to take stands and make decisions are thus defused.

Sometimes the commissions do it with a whitewash job, as when the Kerner report found no evidence of subversion in last summer's civil disorders, insisting they were caused by poverty and white racism. Other issues too hot to handle are cooled by making them ridiculous, as when an eminent psychiatrist told the panel studying the causes of violence that it's because schoolboys are taught to win at sports. Americans, he declared, need to become graceful losers.

Most of the commission reports, it must be conceded, deserve the "file and forget" notation with which the President stamps citizen suggestion-box ideas about improving the state of the nation. One that dropped into the hopper recently, however, merits a better fate.

The result of a 15-month study of the Postal Department by a commission headed by Frederick R. Kappel, former AT&T board chairman, it calls for creation of a government corporation to manage the postal system, now on the verge of collapse. With refreshing candor, Mr. Kappel admitted that the one committee's proposal is the second-best prescription for the ills that beset the P.O.

A far better idea would be to simply hand over the service—lock, stock and RFD—to private enterprise. But because of huge deficits and massive investment needs—the legacy of more than a century of politics, ineptitude and indifference—Mr. Kappel sighed, "You couldn't sell it to anybody."

The Kappel report couldn't be timelier. Despite another rise in rates at the start of the year, the Post Office still must be subsidized by the taxpayer to the tune of over $1 billion a year, and its service grows ever slower and less reliable. In August, as if the mails weren't already in a sufficiently pitiable state, Postmaster General Marvin Watson plans further curtailments. Some 347 small-town post offices are to be closed, no more routes are to be established for urban subdivisions, and Saturday home deliveries are to go the way of the three-cent stamp.

The cutbacks are dictated, Mr. Watson says, not by any lack of funds, but by congressional insistence that all government agencies trim employment to 1966 levels. He wants an exemption for his department. Congressmen angrily accused Mr. Watson of arm-twisting and LBJ of reneging on economy pledges. Whatever the outcome of this particular tempest in a mailbox, one thing is clear: unless the Kappel recommendations are taken to heart, the nation is going to lose what former Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien has called a "race with catastrophe."

The shortcomings of the Post Office have been apparent for a long time. Established by Benjamin Franklin, it functioned smoothly until 1829, when President Andrew Jackson introduced the spoils system into U.S. politics. He demanded that Postmaster General John McLean dismiss all the Federalists employed in the postal department and replace them with members of his victorious Democratic party.

Although a Democrat, McLean refused to carry out an order he considered unjust, and since he wielded considerable political wallop of his own, Old Hickory did not relish firing him. Instead, he appointed the rebellious postmaster general to the Supreme Court.

Ever since, the Post Office has been the principal channel through which the party in power in Washington rewards its friends. Even today, three decades after passage of a law giving civil service status to postmasters, 30,000 rural letter carriers are appointed on a patronage basis. With few exceptions, postmaster generals are political hacks.

The damage politics has wrought on the postal system, however, goes beyond staffing it with unqualified personnel. Morale in the service is abysmally low, because there is little opportunity for advancement; 80 per cent of employes finish their careers in the same grade level where they started. The Post Office is basically a business enterprise, selling a service to the public—$7.3 billion worth, to be precise. Yet the people nominally in charge of the enterprise have virtually no control over it; a hodgepodge of laws 200 years in the making constrains managerial judgment and initiative.

An 1879 law, for example, sought to encourage the use of boys for local delivery of newspapers by instituting a "high" postage rate—a penny a copy. The law is still in effect, permitting a five-pound Sunday paper to be mailed in-city for one cent. One postmaster of a large city, asked by a commission member how he managed the operation, said: "My friend, I don't manage it. I administer it."

Under the circumstances, billion-dollar annual deficits come naturally.

Former AT&T Chairman Frederick R. Kappel headed the commission which recommended the U.S. Post Office be turned over to a quasi-private corporation.

Another large, round burden for the taxpayer to bear is the $5 billion which the Post Office estimates as the cost of its modernization requirements, necessary merely to maintain the present faulty service.

But don't go away. Here's another bill the postman brought. It's for $12 billion—the unfunded pension liabilities of a payroll swollen to 716,000 people. Even those astronomical figures pale into insignificance, however, beside the incalculable cost to the nation of an inadequate postal service, one, moreover, which is going from bad to worse.

The Kappel report warns that, as presently constituted, the system is wide open to complete breakdowns like that which hit Chicago in 1966. The world's largest post office simply stopped functioning. Over 10 million pieces of mail piled up, and it took a task force from Washington three weeks to clean up the mess.

The handwriting is on the wall. Heed it, says the Kappel Commission, or suffer the unthinkable consequences. What the good citizens propose is a government corporation similar to the TVA, chartered to operate the postal system as though it were a private business concern.

A nine-man board of directors would have full authority to hire—and fire—executives, set postal rates (subject to congressional review) and control finances. Revenue bonds would be issued to pay for modernization. Within "several years," the commission estimates, costs would be slashed 20 per cent, enough to put an end to present deficits, and "there is no telling what greater savings could be made over the long pull by businesslike management." The entire service would be immeasurably upgraded.

There is one small obstacle, however, to the realization of this mailman's millennium—politics. Plans to eliminate patronage in the interests of efficiency are about as popular in Washington as snow at cherry blossom time. President Johnson shrugged off the Kappel report as "penetrating" and all the evidence is that postal reform remains a dead letter.

"Were the postal system being started today," says the Kappel report, "it might well be operated by a privately owned, regulated corporation, not unlike the companies which operate communication and transportation services in this country."

As economist Milton Friedman points out, the Pony Express, which was a private concern, did such a good job that when the government introduced transcontinental service it couldn't compete and lost money. The result was a law making it illegal for anyone else to carry the mail. Today's trudging letter carriers bear little resemblance to Pony Express riders. Yet even a whiff of free enterprise in the postal service could renew the vigor and spirit which animated those dauntless couriers and, indeed, could help save a system stumbling toward disaster. Unlike the postman, Ma Bell's Mr. Kappel will only ring once.

Must Big Foreign Aid Continue Forever?

From the Chicago *Tribune*

President Johnson's impassioned bleatings about foreign aid on July 17 suggest to us that the heat has got to him. Never one to resort to the muted expression when hyperbole is available, the President spoke of any conceivable cuts in the appropriation as "madness" and a desperate gamble with United States security and world peace. He prayed that Congress "spare us this ordeal."

To prune the handouts, he said, would undo the handiwork of 20 years. The weary taxpayer will feel that the citation of 20 years is just the point. After pouring billions about the world for that length of time, we are, by Mr. Johnson's appraisal, so far from reaching the goal of world peace and stability that the slightest hesitation in releasing new freshets of cash would render all these selfless labors as arid as the desert.

Mr. Johnson didn't always talk this way. Here is what he had to say on the subject on Feb. 7, 1960: "America's foreign aid program is antiquated—nothing more than the Marshall Plan warmed over, souped up, added to, cut back, started and stopped, without knowing who is running it or where it has been, or even what happened in a good many places in the world last year."

But now his tune is that this monstrosity must go on forever. That, also, is the outlook of the chief giveaway dispenser, William S. Gaud, who last December confided to the Economic Club of Detroit that the taxpayers must be committed to foreign aid, not merely for the approaching fiscal year, but for the rest of the 20th Century.

So far, excluding the appropriation ficitiously set, after a $600-million cut, at $2.3 billion, it has cost the American taxpayers $164 billion to play Santa Claus to the world. That is the calculation of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, which tries to keep track of the welter of handout programs on the books. The figure, of course, comprehends interest charges on what we have already borrowed to give away, for foreign aid can continue only on deficit spending, which fuels inflation, contributes to our balance-of-payments deficit to foreign creditors, and accounts for loss of more than half of the gold which we held in reserve.

Surely, if anything were to have come of spending overseas on such a prodigal scale for 20 years some results would be visible by now. But the world is worse off than ever, the United States is hated and envied throughout most of the globe, and the constant cry from the recipient nations is that we are not doing nearly enough to commend ourselves to them.

This is madness, all right, but not the sort of madness to which Mr. Johnson referred. Of course, everybody on the receiving end has a vested interest in continuing the dissipation of our wealth, and so does the army of bureaucrats who act as paymasters. Former Ambassador Spruille Braden has said that 40 cents out of every aid dollar goes to "a pack of bureaucrats who feed off the rest of us."

Recently Rep. Otto Passman of Louisiana estimated that nearly $17 billion in unexpended foreign aid was in the pipeline, but the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Rep. Thomas E. Morgan, went him a good deal better by stating that a total of $222.3 billion in unspent aid was on tap through a multiplicity of "programs," among them those of international development banks. Why a nickel more should be kicked into the kitty is something Mr. Johnson should endeavor to explain when he recovers from his heat prostration. (See page 15 for foreign aid roll-call in the House.)

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RACES of the WEEK

This is another installment of our regular pre-election feature, "Races of the Week." Each week until November, **Human Events** will cover as many key election contests as space permits.

Indiana's 4th District

Adair vs. Roush

Every weekend Rep. J. Edward Roush jets back to Indiana's 4th Congressional District to campaign for re-election. And every week his plane fare and expenses are picked up by the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education.

The COPE subsidies are easily explained. During his fire terms in Washington, Roush has voted with COPE on 48 of 51 "crucial" rollcalls.

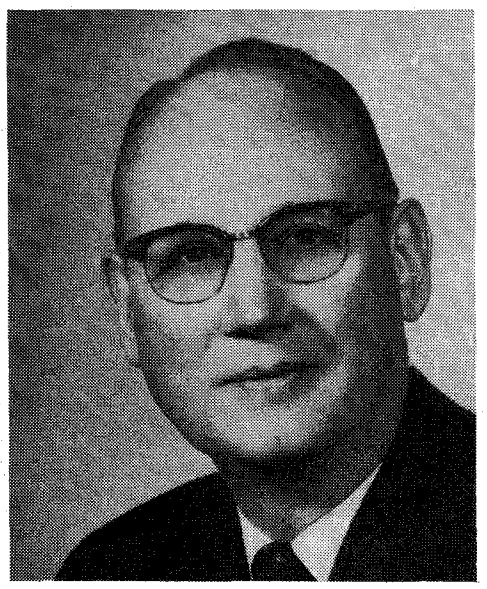
Redistricting has thrown Roush into the same district with a prime COPE target, veteran Republican Ross Adair. Adair's record, as tallied by COPE lobbyists: 6 "right" votes, 75 "wrong" ones.

On issue after issue—14b, rent subsidies, the "War on Poverty"—the two lawmakers have been at odds. Convinced the 4th District is basically conservative, Adair is making his opponent's record the central issue in his campaign.

Roush is avoiding issues as much as possible, although he did court conservative support last month by loudly opposing the foreign aid program (and aping Adair at the same time). Local newsmen say that Roush must shun his liberal image completely if he is to have any chance for victory.

A county-by-county analysis shows that the new district went Republican 3 to 2 two years ago. Only three of its nine counties were represented by Roush, who has lost the labor strongholds of Anderson and Kokomo.

Adair is taking nothing for granted. He, too, is returning to the district at every opportunity to meet the voters and "set the record straight" on Roush's voting record. "Ed will have a tough time posing as a middle-of-the-roader," says one Fort Wayne reporter covering Roush's campaign. (Adair for Congress Committee, Attn: Mr. George Mallers, 17th Floor, Lincoln Tower, Ft. Wayne, Ind. 46802.)



ROSS ADAIR

Adair, a ranking member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, has been in Congress for 18 years. Roush was elected in 1958 and apparently defeated two years later.

Indiana Secretary of State John R. Walsh, a Democrat, certified Republican George Chambers as the 12-vote winner in that race. A certificate of Chambers' election was sent to Washington. That should have settled the issue, but didn't. Roush rushed to Washington, claimed irregularities and demanded "justice" from the Democratic-controlled House. A subcommittee headed by Democratic Robert Ashmore made a "full and complete" investigation.

It heard "both sides," threw out some votes and discovered others. Then, to no one's surprise, the Committee on Elections voted along straight party lines to declare Roush the winner by 99 votes. The full House followed and Roush was seated months after the voters had apparently retired him from office.

California's 29th District

Orozco vs. Brown

George Brown Jr. represents California's 29th Congressional District in Washington. And London. And anywhere else the "struggle for peace" needs fighting.

Last spring the Monterey Park lawmaker was pushing an "international peace petition" that called upon the British government to oppose U.S. policy in Viet Nam. The petition was introduced in Parliament, debated and defeated.

Undaunted, Brown hopped aboard a plane and flew to London on a personal "peace mission" apparently designed to convince the British to reconsider their policy. State Department officials were horrified and Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark is known to have investigated the possibility that Brown violated the Logan Act—which prohibits private citizens from lobbying with foreign powers.

Brown shrugged off the Justice Department probe, telling colleagues that he would "go anywhere, do anything if it could serve the cause of peace." The California Democrat has served that cause in myriad ways:

BILL OROZCO

- Likening the Viet Cong to the "American patriots who fought for their country in their Revolution."
- Voting against defense appropriation bills that support American GIs in the field.
- Addressing radical-left rallies throughout the country, assailing the "immorality" of U.S. foreign policy.

Brown's Viet Nam views and his ties to the New Left were a prime issue two years ago and will be again this year. Republican Bill Orozco, who ran an extremely strong campaign in 1966, is again the GOP candidate. Better-known and better-financed this year, he is given at least an even chance of unseating the three-term incumbent.

Running in a district in which the Democrats hold a registration edge of 42,000, Orozco is making an all-out appeal to independents and moderate Democrats. He is also making a strong pitch to the estimated 30,000 Mexican-American voters who could hold the balance of power in a close election.

Two years ago Brown received more than 70 per cent of their votes. But Orozco, a native of Guadalajara, Mexico (he came to the U.S. at the age of four and is now a naturalized citizen), hopes to cut that figure substantially. He is building his own organization in the Latin areas of East Los Angeles and Lincoln Park and will campaign there extensively. (Orozco for Congress Committee, 202 South Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif. 90012).

First elected in 1962, Brown increased his margin to 26,000 two years later. Orozco's hard-hitting campaign slashed that margin to 3,036 votes and Brown will be hard-pressed to repeat his 51.1 per cent margin.

Brown, who was bankrolled by the National Conference for New Politics, will once again receive support from radical "peace" groups. He can also expect strong support from organized labor, thanks to a perfect 36-for-36 COPE voting record during his first three terms to Washington.

New York's 27th District

McKneally vs. Dow

"He's sewed up the junkie vote."

That was the sarcastic comment of one House colleague after Rep. John Dow vainly opposed legislation last month to stiffen the penalties for illegal trafficking in LSD and other dangerous drugs. The vote was 319 to 2, with only Dow and Haight-Ashbury's Philip Burton voting no.

During his four years in Congress, Dow has repeatedly been on the short end of congressional votes. He was one of 16 lawmakers to oppose the bill prohibiting flag burning, one of 70 who fought anti-riot legislation, one of 92 who sought to kill the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Dow has been a key member of the tiny clique that has shrilly opposed U.S. policy in Viet Nam. Not surprisingly, his attacks on American "aggression" have been picked up by Communist propaganda radios.

Dow faces a determined challenge from Martin McKneally, a Newburgh attorney and former national commander of the American Legion. (McKneally for Congress Committee: P.O. Box 1190, Newburgh, N.Y.) A hard-hitting conservative, McKneally says the issues could not possibly be sharper: "Mr. Dow's voting record is an obscenity."

The 27th District is traditionally Republican and Dow won four years ago only because of the Johnson landslide. He was re-elected in 1966 with 47 per cent of the vote when a Conservative party candidate drained off 13,946 votes from the "moderate" Republican nominee.

McKneally is no "moderate" but the Conservatives may again be guaranteeing Dow's victory. Conservative Frederick Roland, who ran third in the GOP primary, is staying in the race as the Conservative nominee.

MARTIN McKNEALLY

But Roland will go into the race with less than wholehearted support from his party's leadership. The Conservative organization in Orange County has repudiated Roland's candidacy and is supporting McKneally. Nearly half of the Rockland County Conservative leadership is backing the GOP nominee who also boasts substantial support among Conservatives of the two remaining counties, Sullivan and Delaware.

McKneally also has the wholehearted backing of William F. Buckley Jr., editor of *National Review* and the Conservatives' 1965 candidate for mayor. Buckley's brother, James, is the Conservatives' senatorial candidate against Jacob Javits.

"It doesn't make sense," admits one Conservative leader of Roland's third-party candidacy. "We can't possibly win. All we can do is defeat another good conservative and re-elect an extremist liberal."

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Continued from page 1

Moving Left Courts Election Disaster

vote getter in a state where the Republican party is a minority party by a million registered voters. . . . Dick has run two times in the last 18 years. Once was for President in 1960. He came out of the convention a strong winner in terms of the polls, and lost the election in the cities of this country."

In like manner, New York's Republican national committeeman, George Hinman, has been sending an anti-Nixon letter around the country, trying to explain away Rockefeller's own lackluster vote-getting performance and blitzing the former vice president. Hinman says that "in 1960 Nixon lost all but one of the nation's 12 largest cities. . . . Urban weakness defeated Nixon again in the 1962 race for governor of California."

Time magazine, ever congenial to the wishes of the Eastern Republicans, similarly asserts that "Rockefeller's appeal in the cities and among non-Republicans would make the difference. . . . Many Republican officials in such important industrial states as New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Michigan, Ohio and Illinois are convinced that Nixon's appeal among non-Republicans would be weaker than Rocky's. . . ."

The claims advanced in behalf of Rockefeller are suspect. In Illinois, "Republican officials"—except for Sen. Percy—have almost unanimously shunned him and denied one of his most prominent backers in the state, Rep. Paul Findley, a seat on the convention delegation. Likewise, Rockefeller's record as a vote-getter is in fact a dismal one—down to 44.6 per cent of the total cast in the '66 New York gubernatorial election.

And the notion that the GOP can win the election by appealing to the "cities" is a fallacy to be examined more closely in a moment. The pro-Rockefeller argument, in short, doesn't hang together. The fact remains that all this commentary about Nixon's "losing" characteristics inevitably has its impact on public opinion.

It is interesting to note that Nixon's poll ratings against both Humphrey and Eugene McCarthy have dropped sharply since Rockefeller got into the race and started his attacks.

In April Nixon led both Democratic candidates in the Gallup surveys—with a 43-to-34 per cent bulge over Humphrey, a 41-to-38 per cent margin over McCarthy. Nixon's standing has dropped steadily ever since Rockefeller's entry. In May his lead over Humphrey dropped to 3 percentage points and his lead over McCarthy to 2. By June he was trailing McCarthy slightly and was 5 percentage points behind Humphrey. In July McCarthy led Nixon 39 per cent to 36 per cent, and Humphrey led Nixon by 40 per cent to 35 per cent.

In sum, Nixon's standing with the national electorate has fallen in direct proportion to the scope and intensity of Rockefeller's attack. This has occurred despite the fact that Nixon in the interval was winning uncontested primaries and despite the fact that Humphrey, the presumptive Democratic nominee, has been subjected to continuing criticism throughout. The major change in the situation has been the Rockefeller assault on Nixon and the resulting concentration of the media on the reiterated charge that Nixon "cannot win."

Rockefeller himself has not been making any particular headway as a result of all this. In May Gallup's figures showed Rockefeller with a 40 per cent to 31 per cent lead over McCarthy and a 40 per cent to 33 per cent lead over Humphrey. Rocky's percentages dropped steadily in the next two polls, and by July he was trailing McCarthy by 37 per cent to 35 per cent and

Haunting the GOP National Convention is the specter of the third-party candidacy of former Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace.

running even with Humphrey at 36 per cent apiece.

The net effect of Rockefeller's campaign has been to damage not only Nixon but himself. Both candidates emerge from the combat battle-scarred and decreasingly attractive to the national electorate.

Perhaps the clearest example of the way in which the "loser" tag hurts Nixon is the rising strength of former Alabama Gov. George Wallace. While Nixon and Rockefeller have been dropping in the poll ratings, Wallace has steadily advanced. Between May and July, Wallace went from 9 per cent to 16 per cent in a hypothetical race with Nixon and Humphrey and from 16 per cent to 21 per cent in a race with Humphrey and Rockefeller. This rising Wallace vote is clearly influenced by the "loser" tag affixed to Nixon as well as to more obvious ideological factors.

Louis Harris makes this plain in an analysis of Wallace strength. "A threshold for Wallace voters," Harris asserts, "is the decision of whether to vote for the former Alabama governor or for former Vice President Richard Nixon. *A major determinant locking-in the Wallace vote today is the conviction of 57 per cent of these people that 'Nixon has lost too many elections' and presumably cannot win this year if nominated.* Wallace voters are considerably more convinced that Nixon cannot win than the electorate as a whole. Therefore, they reason, they will not be throwing their votes away on Wallace, but rather will be registering a meaningful protest" (emphasis added).

In terms of popular opinion, then, the chemistry of defeat is clearly at work: by his attack on Nixon, Rockefeller has damaged the former vice president and the party in the eyes of the public. He has made it much more likely that if Nixon is the nominee he will be defeated in the fall while doing little to advance his own chances of either nomination or election.

If the Rockefeller attack on Nixon has adverse results in terms of general "image," it also has bad effects in terms of Republican election strategy. It tends to concentrate GOP thought on the issues and political analysis favored by Rockefeller and his media backers.

It thus exerts a persistent influence on the strategic calculations of the Nixon camp.

In 1960 the Rockefeller hammering was followed not only by Nixon's move to liberalize the platform, but also by his selection of Henry Cabot Lodge as his running-mate and his simulated agreement with John F. Kennedy in the televised debates. It was this last-named tactic which produced Nixon's poor television image in the mind of the public.

All these features of the 1960 campaign were apparently induced by the gravitational pull of the Rockefeller campaign. Rockefeller established a leverage position which made it seem he was the major alternative force to be dealt with in the GOP (he in fact was not—and is not), and that he alone had the formula for winning elections (he didn't—and doesn't).

By act if not by analysis, Nixon bought this interpretation. He conducted his campaign in terms of a Rocky-style wooing of "the cities," meaning chiefly the cities of the industrial Northeast. As a result, he was defeated.

To win a presidential election, the Republican party must reach out from its Midwestern heartland, comprising some 120 or so electoral votes, and pick up another 150 or so from other sectors of the country. Some of these will come from the newly Republican West. The remainder must be sought in one of two places: The liberal Northeast or the conservative South. The GOP can win the presidency only if it makes a significant breakthrough into one or the other of these regions.

It is at this point that inspection of the poll results gets interesting—not as national averages, but as indices to the possible distribution of electoral votes. We do not have figures state by state, but we do have some suggestive regional breakdowns which fit roughly with the over-all electoral college scheme. An analysis of these breakdowns as of mid-July is not, from a Republican point of view, particularly encouraging.

The figures assembled by Dr. Gallup in this regional survey showed that neither Nixon nor Rockefeller commanded the necessary electoral college strength to be elected President. Needing to pick up *either* the East *or* the South, Rockefeller and Nixon trailed their opponents in *both* regions. Gallup found Rockefeller, despite his established ultra-liberal image, trailing Humphrey in the East, 43 to 41 per cent, and being swamped in the South (21 per cent of the vote as compared to 39 per cent for Wallace and 33 per cent for Humphrey).

Gallup's figures for Nixon were equally unpromising. They gave Nixon only 33 per cent of the vote in the East, as compared to 49 per cent for Humphrey. In the South, the Gallup survey showed Nixon running third with 29 per cent of the vote as opposed to 33 per cent for Humphrey and 32 per cent for Wallace.

The indicated steps for Rockefeller and Nixon are apparent. Rockefeller has virtually no chance of winning in the South, and if he were to be nominated his only hope of election would be to increase his percentage in the East. This would mean going even further left than he has already gone, until he is well on the port-side of Humphrey.

What this would do to the Republican vote in the Midwest is another question—to which Dewey's race of '48 suggests some unhappy answers. What it would do to Rocky's nomination hopes is more interesting still.

The New York governor is disliked by many Republicans because of his liberalism and party irregularity. A campaign to place himself even further left than he already is would make him still more distasteful to the GOP rank and file and therfore cut even more strongly against his chances of getting nominated.

For Nixon the situation is almost exactly reversed. If Gallup's figures are even remotely accurate, Nixon's chances of winning in the East, where he lags 16 percentage points behind Humphrey, are negligible. On the other hand, there is a chance for victory in the South, where the vote split leaves him 4 percentage points behind Humphrey.

This would indicate that Nixon's hope of winning depends upon sharpening his conservative appeal, whittling down the Wallace strength, and closing the percentage gap in Dixie. But there, all too painfully, is the rub. Nixon has been doing precisely the opposite.

Thus, even as Gallup's regional results were published, Nixon was asserting he would concentrate his efforts in the big-city states, principally those of the East, and that he intended to do

Gov. Thomas Dewey's liberalism lost him necessary Midwest votes in 1948.

a good deal of campaigning in the ethnic ghettos. Simultaneously, authoritative-sounding stories appeared in the New York *Times* stating that Nixon would "choose a moderate-to-liberal as his running mate" and playing up the supposed merits of such people as Sen. Charles Percy of Illinois and Mayor John Lindsay of New York.

Of particular interest was the *Times*' discussion of "inside" thinking in the Nixon camp on the question of the vice presidential nomination. The candidate would have to be a liberal-to-moderate, the *Times* asserted—a conclusion ruling out conservatives John Tower and Ronald Reagan. The *Times* reported that Nixon "would take a man of Mr. Tower's ideological identification *only if he decided to pursue a 'Southern strategy' in the campaign. He has told friends that he will not pursue such a strategy*" (emphasis added).

Concerning Reagan, the *Times* relayed "considerable speculation" in

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Stan Evans, editor of the Indianapolis News, *is the author of many significant books on politics, including his latest,* The Future of Conservatism.

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GOP circles "over the possibility that Mr. Nixon's reluctance to open the vice presidential nomination to the convention stemmed from his belief, and possibly his fear, that the convention would instantly choose Mr. Reagan. Mr. Nixon refuses to rule out Mr. Reagan, either privately or publicly, but the logic of his campaign seems to indicate that the California conservative is not truly in the running."

The *Times* concluded that Reagan would not appeal in the ethnic ghettos and that "the Nixon staff believes that a liberal running-mate would not jeopardize Mr. Nixon's strong standing in the South, Southwest and Midwest, and would at the same time strengthen his appeal in urban areas and key swing states such as Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania and New Jersey."

Unless the *Times* simply made up this story out of whole cloth, the indices suggest Nixon is again moving toward the Rockefeller strategy, neglecting the South, and pushing for support in the big industrialized states and the liberal voters of the urban centers.

In Rockefeller's hands, this approach makes a certain perverse kind of sense —more or less as a Black Mass makes sense to those who approve of such things. Rockefeller is known as an arch-liberal and the liberal East offers him his single chance of victory while the South offers him none. Since Rockefeller's strategy also serves to make him disliked among rank-and-file Republicans, however, even these upside-down virtues are theoretical in nature.

In Nixon's hands, the same strategy makes almost no sense at all. It focuses his campaign effort on an area where he has little chance of winning and ignores an area where his chances are considerably better.

It does not seem likely to bridge the 16-point percentage gap in the East, but it could all too easily widen still further the otherwise passable gap of 4 percentage points in the South.

In a given presidential election, of course, almost anything is possible. It is conceivable that a massive protest vote against the "ins" will be rolled up this year, that regional and ideological considerations alike will give way to a tidal wave of Republican votes. If so, Rockefeller, Nixon or Harold Stassen might be elected on the GOP ticket irrespective of the strategy employed.

There are few GOP tacticians so optimistic as to base their thinking on that assumption, however, and the decreasing poll percentages of both Rockefeller and Nixon do not suggest anything of the sort is likely to happen. The GOP must assume it can win only if it has the right candidate with the right strategy.

In the absence of a popular tidal wave, a Nixon candidacy shaped by Rockefeller pressures could very well turn out to be the losing proposition Rockefeller keeps telling everybody it will be.

Judging by present surveys and past experience, a Nixon presidential ticket angling for liberal votes is in danger of falling between two stools. As the poll results suggest, it would in all probability fail to carry the Eastern states it is aimed at carrying and alienate the Southern states that might be carried otherwise. Again, this is almost exactly what happened in 1960. As this writer observed on another occasion:

"The principal irony of Nixon's [1960] campaign was that he could very probably have won every state he did win without all the effort to project a 'new Nixon,' and that had the liberalizing effort not occurred he might have picked up the votes he needed to become President. On the morning after the 1960 election, one major flaw in his performance should have been obvious even to his warmest supporters. He had grossly neglected a major section of the country which—without endangering the Midwestern base he carried with such success—could have supplied his margin of victory. The South, which had no central role in the Nixon campaign, stayed mostly with the Democrats. . . . Had Nixon carried these states he would have been elected President. Yet the whole of his campaign strategy, angling for the New York votes he did not get, was of the sort to insure that he did not carry them."

Highlighting the national breakthrough of the Republican party in heretofore Democratic areas was the 1964 Texas GOP convention which was addressed by Barry Goldwater. Although the party lost heavily that year, George Bush, then running for the Senate, is now a congressman, and this year Republicans have a chance to elect the first GOP governor in Lone Star State history.

The difficulties suggested by Gallup's regional poll results merely illustrated the fallacy of the whole East Coast strategy.

Such an approach is incompatible with the fundamental nature and existing power base of the Republican party. It assumes that the GOP can simultaneously project itself as (1) *more conservative* than the Democrats in its traditional Midwestern heartland, and (2) *more liberal* than the Democrats in the Eastern cities. This strategy, which has been attempted by the party time and again since 1940, simply does not work. There is no reason to believe it can work this year under either Rockefeller or Nixon.

In the Rockefeller incarnation, the Eastern approach makes the Republican party non-Republican, indistinguishable from the Democrats. Indeed, much of Rockefeller's performance in New York has made the Democrats of that state look conservative by comparison.*

This sort of approach gives the Republican party no reason for being, with demoralizing impact on the GOP rank and file and consequent corrosive effects on the existing party base. That is precisely the reason that Rockefeller has so little support within the party. The GOP has no more cause to nominate him than it would have to nominate Humphrey.

In the Nixon incarnation, the strategy is more ambiguous. Nixon's basic approach is conservative enough to feel comfortable to the rank and file, but it offers no clear method of securing steady disparagement of the media.

All the indicators show that there is a considerable protest vote building up against the policies of the national Democratic Administration. Despite the attention given to the Viet Nam issue, it seems relatively plain that most of this protest is to the right, not the left, of the over-all Democratic tendency. It is rooted in concern over taxes, inflation, crime, government controls, Supreme Court rulings, riots in the cities, anarchy on the college campuses.

A heavy vote premised on these issues would obviously work to the benefit of a Republican party which took a firm stand on such matters. But the East Coast strategy, aimed at picking up liberal votes, confuses the Republican presentation and diverts the protest into non-Republican channels.

This is, perhaps, the major significance of the rising survey totals secured by Wallace. To the degree that the GOP offers no clear alternative to the policies of the Democratic Administration, an increasing portion of the "anti" feeling gets channeled into Wallace's candidacy.

Thus Gallup has noted (July 14) that "Wallace is capturing a large share of the 'protest vote' that normally could be expected to go to the candidate of the GOP." This is most important in the South, where Wallace could conceivably get something like 100 electoral votes, but it is important in the North as well. Columnist James J. Kilpatrick notes that if Wallace pulls up to 5 or 8 per cent of the popular vote in the North, he could take crucial ballots from the GOP, triggering a Democratic landslide. Nixon, Kilpatrick observes, "might wind up with no more electoral votes than poor old Taft in 1912."

The net conclusion emerging from all this is a somber one for Republican loyalists: *Through the peculiar chemistry of the Rockefeller-Nixon battle, the GOP may wind up with neither of its declared contenders being a very good bet to win the presidency.* Rockefeller has small chance of being nominated and, by extension, even less chance of being elected. Nixon, with "loser" engraved on his hide by Rockefeller and armed with a faulty political compass that keeps pointing him toward New York, finds his chances of winning the election diminished with every new survey of voter opinion. Unless something dramatic is done to change things, the party may once more be on its way toward snatching defeat from the jaws of victory.

*See my article, "Nelson Rockefeller: 'Reluctant Candidate'," *Human Events*, April 27, 1968.

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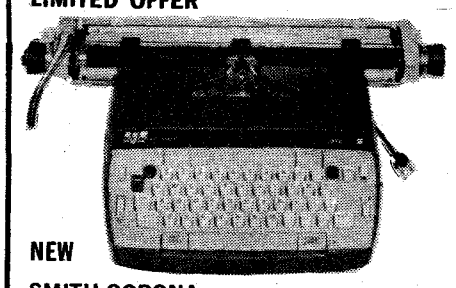

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Will U.S. Seize Opportunity Provided by the Czech Turmoil?

By PAUL SCOTT

Czechoslovakian exiles believe the U.S. is missing the greatest opportunity since the end of World War II to help the people of that Communist-ruled country regain their freedom.

Instead of the U.S. adopting a "hands-off policy" as indicated by Secretary of State Rusk, these anti-Communist refugees want President Johnson to take the diplomatic initiative to put real meaning in this year's "Captive Nations Week."

As a starter, the Czech exiles are urging the President to call on the new Czechoslovakian regime to extend its "liberalization program" to include full religious and political freedom for its people.

Under the exiles' proposal, the President would challenge Prague to grant visas to hundreds of American and Western European clergymen to meet with religious leaders there to discuss religious freedom.

By bringing pressure for an "open door" policy, the exiles point out, the President could force a test of Prague's highly publicized "liberalization program" to determine if it was being launched for the benefit of the people or just to save Communist control in that country.

What is happening in Czechoslovakia is best explained by secret information turned over to the Central Intelligence Agency by Maj. Gen. Jan Sejna, the high-ranking Czechoslovak Army officer who defected to the U.S. earlier this year.

In more than four months of talking, Gen. Sejna has told the CIA all he knows about Czech, Russian and Warsaw pact politico-military secrets—and he knows plenty. The Czechs themselves conceded Sejna has "extensive knowledge" of Soviet-Czechoslovakian military and political relations.

Gen. Sejna's intriguing story, told in advance of today's "big show" in Czechoslovakia, gives the following account of events unfolding in Prague, Moscow and the other Soviet bloc capitals:

The tightly controlled "liberalization program" is being staged by Prague, with Moscow's secret guidance and support, to head off what happened in 1956 in Poland and Hungary when people at large rose against the Communist party.

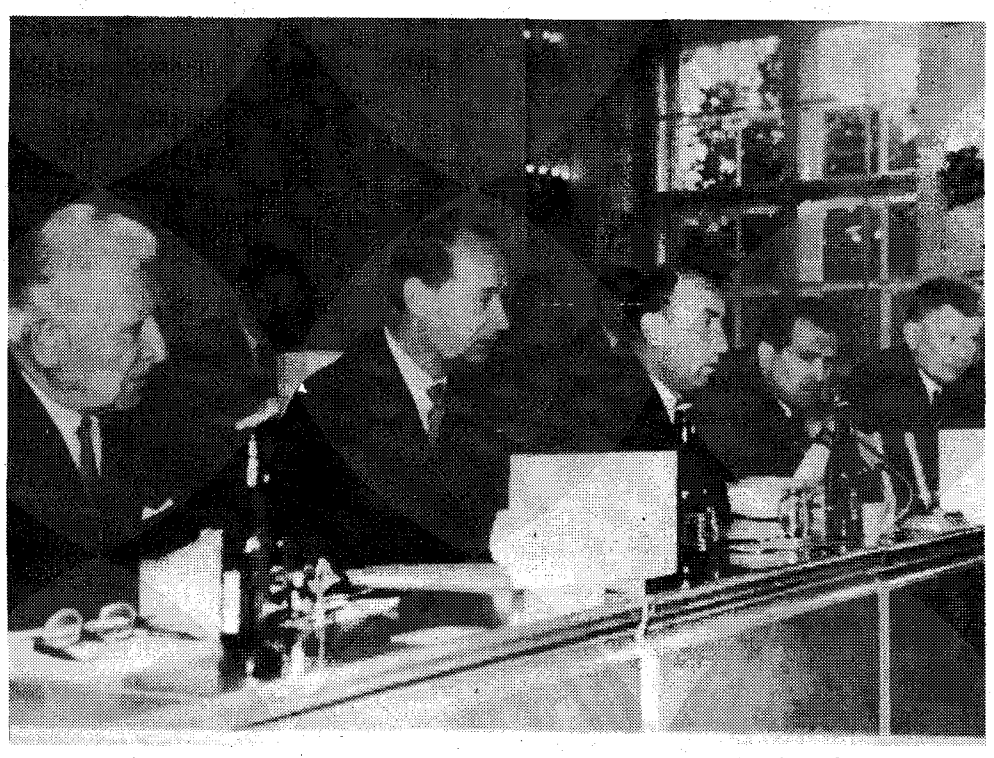
For months popular discontent has been on the rise in Czechoslovakia because of rising prices and sagging economic conditions. In many areas the Communist-run economy has completely broken down.

This economic deterioration made changes absolutely necessary if the Communist system was to survive in Czechoslovakia without the use of military force from the Soviet Union.

At several high-level meetings in the Kremlin late in 1967, Moscow and Prague Communist leaders determined that massive dollar credits and trade from the West, especially the U.S., were needed to bolster the sagging economy and stem unrest in Czechoslovakia.

As part of their covert program to obtain this massive Western aid, Moscow and Prague decided that the Czechoslovakian government would need a new image, especially for the American taxpayer who will foot most of the bill.

Under the personal guidance of Soviet party boss Brezhnev, one of his closest comrades, Alexander Dubcek, was elevated in a bloodless coup to first secretary of the Czechoslovakia Communist party and the real position of power in that country.



Czech Communist leaders meet in Prague to discuss moves to be taken before the Soviet leaders arrived in the country. Second from left is party chief Alexander Dubcek, who spearheaded the "liberalization" of the Red apparatus in the country.

According to Gen. Sejna, the mission of Dubcek is to give the new Communist regime the "appearance" of being independent from Moscow and a government supporting "business-like reforms."

Immediate objective of the Prague-Moscow plan was to gain support at home for Dubcek's Red regime and then financial help from the U.S. and other Western European countries.

As viewed here by Gen. Sejna, the Prague-Moscow plan is in the Communist groove—or going as planned—despite the Kremlin's phony threats against the Dubcek regime.

However, there are several imponderables, Sejna stresses, that make the Prague-Moscow operation a risky one for them if the U.S. is willing to try to build some bridges to the Czech people.

Most significant of these is popular pressure, if encouraged by the U.S., which could force Dubcek's government to go beyond its "own initiative" and grant religious and political reforms not now planned.

From the Communists' point of view, he says, one danger is that the change-over inside the Czechoslovakian Communist party might get out of hand and that non-Communist and even anti-Communist forces might come to the fore.

These latter forces can be encouraged, Sejna contends, by U.S. and Western European officials publicly and privately urging the Dubcek regime to permit other than the Communist party to operate.

The new action program of the Dubcek regime stresses that "The party from its own initiative (not that of the people) launched the program of democratization and ensured its Socialist character."

In plain language, the party line is to be put over through "systematic persuasion" and by "the personal example of leadership of the Communists."

The Communist party in the action program remains supreme. If there were any doubts in this respect, they have been dispelled by recent statements of all Czechoslovakian Red leaders.

The old Social Democratic party will not be reconstituted. There will be no multi-party system. The old parties of former Presidents Benes and Masaryk will not be allowed to make a comeback.

By calling for more political freedom for the Czech people, President Johnson could help stir up popular demand in Czechoslovakia for a multi-party system, according to Sejna.

U.S. dollar credits and trade could then be conditioned on the granting of wider political freedom for the Czech people—a condition that Sejna is convinced that the Dubcek government would have to accept.

Unless the U.S. seeks these fundamental freedoms for the Czech people now, Sejna warns, any future U.S. aid to Czechoslovakia will go to bolster and tighten Communist control in that country.

House Conservatives Lack Effective Organization

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

On every hand people are asking, "What has happened to America? I never expected to see our country facing bankruptcy and anarchy and our government powerless to meet the crisis." Reason demands a clear connection between cause and effect. When people cannot see that connection, they are of course bewildered.

The denial of cause and effect is a tactic of contemporary politics. Thus, when a responsible public official fails to fulfill the duties of his office, he attributes the consequent disorder not to his own malfeasance but to the intractability of social phenomena beyond his control. The mayor of a city crippled by anarchy dons a mask of integrity and dedication to the public welfare even as he betrays these values on the altar of expediency.

If the public accepts such dissociation of cause and effect, it forfeits its influence on government. Reason is dethroned and comprehension floats away on currents of image-building.

This has happened in America. The disastrous urban warfare and international paralysis which have seized our country within the past seven years are the observable effect. Policies of the Democratic party, which has wielded power in this period, are the cause. But through the propaganda of the Democratic party and of powerful organs of public communication committed to its policies, our people have been deluged with massive misinformation depicting our responsible leaders as dedicated humanitarians contending nobly with a sea of troubles. That is why the public mood is one of bewilderment, not of understanding.

In judging cause and effect, we need not concern ourselves with motives. If you hire a man to run your business and he does it badly, you should get rid of him. Whether he is incompetent or dishonest may affect your decision to prosecute, but it should not delay your decision to fire him.

The Democratic party has used public power to create the war in Viet Nam, to depreciate the dollar and to foster crime and disorder in our society. We need not examine the motives of policy makers because, regardless of motive, the effects are intolerable. We must not confide the public business to incompetents, however noble their sentiments may be. The voter's responsibility is to evict the authors of disaster from public office.

If our people today fail to hold incumbent officials responsible for the decline of public order, it is because the people do not see the connection between public tragedy and responsible officialdom. I take this condition of the public understanding to be a reproach to the Republican party. If any element of our society has an obligation to inform the public about the cause of our present plight, surely it is the opposition party.

Republican failure is related to its own internal organization. In the Congress, the party has a minority of dynamic, aggressive Republicans who cooperate in the Democratic programs and are co-architects of our present troubles. It has a majority of conservative Republicans who are philosophically sound but politically ineffectual.

These docile conservatives accept liberal party leadership as an imperative of party harmony. They oppose the worst proposals of the Democratic majority but they lack organization and determination to make their ideas effective in the legislative arena.

On the Democratic side, a Democratic Study Group, amply staffed, has provided aggressive leadership for the liberal initiatives of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. There is no counterpart on the Republican side to mobilize the opposition in disciplined attack on Administration error and in the projection of sound solutions to national problems. This deficiency accounts for the ambivalent quality of Republican policy in Congress.

Failure of the conservative majority of Republican congressmen to organize effective projection of their convictions in the legislative halls is therefore a contributing cause of the disintegration of our government. The public interest summons them to action. The hour is late.

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Europeans Think LBJ Will Run Again

By VICTOR RIESEL

London:—In continental capitals the most knowledgeable and sophisticated chancelleries believe that in the fall the final conflict will be fought in America between Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon.

Few, indeed, across the seas believe that the Democratic nomination will go to Vice President Hubert Humphrey, whom the European and Middle Eastern labor and Socialist leaders know so well, so personally and so intimately.

These analysts who are powerful in so many governments believe their own intelligence services and their embassy political reports which say that at the last minute Hubert Humphrey will turn to the vast throng in the Chicago stadium and, with sufficient delegates to get himself named, eloquently renominate Lyndon Johnson for President.

I've heard this from men whom it would be amateurish understatement to describe as merely well-informed. I've heard this all the way from the valley

Foreign correspondents think the President will run because he so strongly wants to keep Richard Nixon out of the White House.

of Armageddon below an old King Solomon cavalry fort to a private dining room in the House of Commons here.

I've heard this from national leaders who have invited him to their labor and Socialist intellectual retreats for years.

These men reason that the world is going conservative. They therefore believe that their old colleague "Hubert" would be defeated by Richard Nixon just as labor men and Social Democrats are being beaten all the way from Wales to Tokyo.

They do not believe that President Johnson would sit by and see his own Democratic party wiped out by former Vice President Nixon. And when I retort that there just is no sign that Mr. Johnson even in the inner recesses of the White House is planning such a move, they come up with what they say is absolute evidence that at least while Robert Kennedy was alive, the President had intended to accept the nomination at the last moment.

The evidence is imputed to an old and intimate friend and professional associate of President Johnson. This friend visited here last May. He is indeed internationally known and a power in the U.S.

During his two-week visit to London he talked confidentially to influential figures here. It should be pointed out quickly that the visitor is as much responsible for Hubert Humphrey's presidential bid as anyone, perhaps more so.

In his discussions here the influential American visitor spoke warmly, though somewhat critically privately, of Mr. Humphrey.

The visitor, who often is in daily contact with the White House and sometimes more frequently, said that the vice president was a crusading liberal, certainly, a devoted labor man, and a tireless campaigner. But for effective infighting he is too garrulous.

These talks occurred during the battle with Robert Kennedy when it appeared that the late senator had powerful rank-and-file labor support as well as that of the youth and "Black Power" people.

During these conversations the visitor declared flatly that President Johnson was absolutely ready to move into the Democratic convention and take the nomination for himself if it were necessary to stop Bob Kennedy.

Now, tragedy has made it certain that Hubert Humphrey can get the nomination, uncontested except by a vocal but politically weak McCarthy bloc.

Then what?

The same criticism of Hubert Humphrey lingers on.

Dick Nixon, the new, new Nixon, an easy and relaxed campaigner, it is believed, can beat Mr. Humphrey regardless of what the professional polling of 1,500 to 1,600 voters out of some 80 million now indicates.

This is just not the era for Mr. Humphrey's kind of "Social Democracy." Everywhere, Social Democrats are being beaten. They have lost heavily in Scandinavia to conservatives. They have lost heavily in France to the conservatives. They have lost in Italy to left-wing extremists.

But nowhere are they losing so badly as here in Britain, where Prime Minister Harold Wilson and Hubert Humphrey often are described in the togetherness of fish and chips.

Labor and Socialist leaders have lost their mystique and charisma even in the holiest of Fabian Socialist grounds. London has been in the hands of the conservatives (about 5 to 1 in the county council) for some years. Districts which have been labor for 35 to 40 years are being lost.

It's the gap. Even here labor has gone suburbia. It is now the middle class. Some of it pickets the champions of the colored people.

As in the States, the gap has widened between labor's leaders and the rank and file, between the labor party leaders and the "working class." The people are voting conservative.

It all has its parallel in America. Here in London as well as in Rome and other capitals, there is certainty that Mr. Nixon would devastate Mr. Humphrey. And that Lyndon Johnson will not permit this.

And that at the last moment, Hubert Humphrey will renominate Lyndon Johnson who will accept and enter the lists against Richard Nixon.

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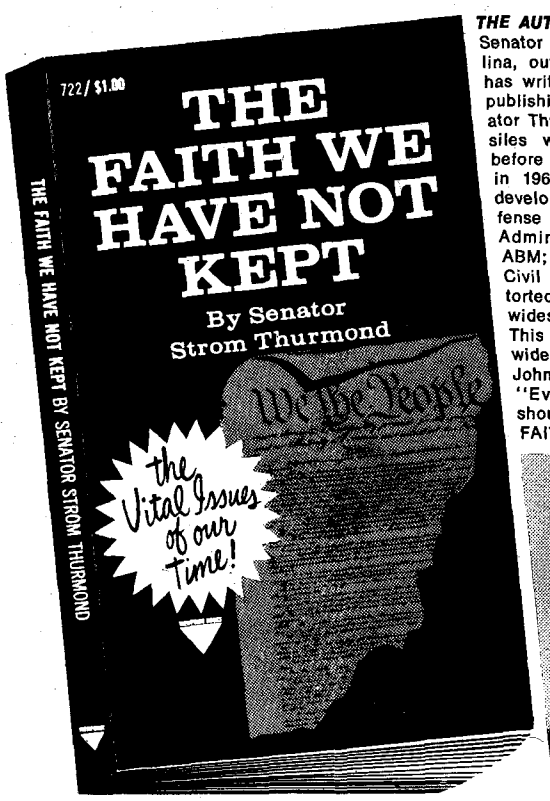
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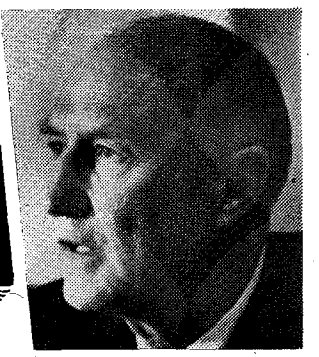

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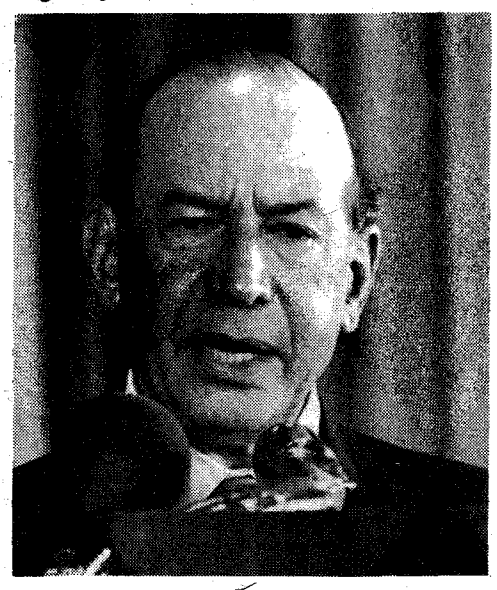
The Liberal Double Standard

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Whatever the merits of Abe Fortas, the fight over his confirmation as chief justice reveals—to this jaundiced observer, at least—the double standard of modern liberalism. Let me, as is my wont, go back some years to make my point.

Though the philosophy of Calvin Coolidge and LBJ are far apart, there are some interesting similarities in their careers. Both were Veeps who took over the reins when the President died in office; both were re-elected by sweeping majorities; and both, late in their



Liberals who claim opposition to Justice Fortas' promotion is unfounded forget LBJ's delaying tactics on Ike's appointments.

administrations, announced they would not seek another term.

But there the likeness ends. LBJ's disavowal was couched in eloquent terms to indicate he was now above the battle and would eschew partisan politics, seeking only his country's welfare. But the fact remains that it came at a time when his popularity had plummeted so far that it seemed certain he would be badly beaten if he ran again.

Coolidge's renunciation, on the other hand, came when his prestige had never been higher. What prompted it was, beyond doubt, the round robin letter signed by distinguished senators of both parties, in which they urged him not to violate the then unwritten but sacred law against the third term which had been invoked by Washington and had been followed faithfully ever since.

Even though Cal's tenure (like LBJ's) was only five years, they felt such a technicality, while legal, would constitute a moral evasion of a great principle. And Cal, though he could easily have forced his renomination, responded in his typically laconic fashion by issuing his famous "I do not choose to run for President in 1928" statement.

Incidentally, one of those who signed the round robin was Sen. George Norris of Nebraska, a noted liberal of the day. Yet in 1940 Norris was among the very first to publicly ask FDR to run for a third term. And Mr. Roosevelt was never one to turn down a call to duty.

Ancient history? Well, let's move on to 1960 and the closing months of Ike's second term. (And here I gratefully acknowledge my debt to the spadework of Willard Edwards, that crackajack Washington correspondent whose diligent exhumations have so often made the front pages.)

Ike was not then, it will be remembered, a lame duck in any true sense of that phrase. He had swept to victory twice and was still highly popular. This was not a man who had thrown in the sponge.

Yet Sen. Philip Hart (D.-Mich.) introduced a resolution in June with this statement: "Whatever the outcome of the presidential elections in November, a new administration will take place. None of us knows which political party will direct that administration. I suggest this is a most appropriate time for the Senate to record its extreme reluctance to see recess appointments made to the Supreme Court."

And when in August that resolution was voted on, it passed, 48 to 37. And who do you think was the Democratic majority leader who not only voted for it, but induced 47 other members of his party to go along with him? Darned if it wasn't a fellow by the name of Lyndon B. Johnson!

But what a change in attitude now that the shoe's on the other foot! LBJ may have eschewed politics, but you can't tell it by the tactics he's employing—the same old ruthless arm-twisting tactics of yore. As one Democratic congressman put it when LBJ was still master of all he surveyed, "Other Presidents have twisted my arm, but this guy breaks it!"

He's even gone so far in this scrap—and here I quote the left-of-center columning team of Rowland Evans and Robert Novak—as to allow innuendoes to emanate from the White House that imply much of the opposition to Fortas stems from the fact that he's Jewish. And that sort of dirty pool makes no more appeal to those two southpaw commentators than it does to a right-winger like me. Presidential politics, at least, ought to stop at the gutter's edge.

There are, beyond question, highly honorable men on both sides of the arguments for and against Fortas as Warren's successor. And I do not assert that LBJ has not the legal right to nominate whom he pleases.

But a lame duck President who limps badly on his way out has surely no moral right to attempt to stifle debate by such methods. He cannot thus leave to posterity the image he is so eager to create. A little of the basic integrity of Cal Coolidge might do better.

★ ★ ★

I attribute no wickedness to our President, and am certain he has the good of the Republic at heart. But the times call for a giant, and he palpably doesn't measure up. And he knows it.

Even Hubert no longer speaks of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, as he termed it until the primaries taught him differently. But enough of the "Great Society's" reliance on money to cure all ills remains.

When he went to Cleveland in search of votes, the very able colored mayor introduced him to a colored audience. And Hubert's first words were: "I'm happy to bring you the good news that the government has just allotted $1 million to this area for welfare and jobs."

Cheers. And then Mayor Stokes asked the crowd, "Do you know the name of this bearer of good news? All together, now!" And they cried "Humphrey!"

"And his first name?" asked the mayor. "Hubert!" rang back.

"And now," said His Honor, "put both names together—and make it loud. I don't hear very well." And the deafening cheer for Hubert Humphrey that followed was clear even to the mayor—and a smiling Veep.

I don't accuse Hubert of buying votes, mind you. Still, I can't think of George Washington campaigning that way, either. And we're going to need someone more of George's stature to get us out of the mess we're in.

No pygmies need apply.

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Meskill Urges Hartford OEO Probe

Rep. Thomas J. Meskill (R.-Conn.) recently asked for a congressional investigation of a $272,443 Office of Economic Opportunity grant for a legal-aid-to-the-poor program in Hartford—despite the fact the city already has two such programs, one of them funded at $285,000 by OEO.

OEO granted the $272,443 sum to "Connecticut Law Reform, Inc.," at Windsor—a corporation Meskill said does not exist. He called the project "a boondoggle."

Meskill, in a letter to Rep. Carl D. Perkins, chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, requesting the investigation, said the address listed for the corporation is the residence of Howard H. Orenstein. Orenstein said he was unaware that he had submitted an application for legal aid funds. He is a former official of the Hartford Legal Services program and an OEO consultant.

A New York OEO official explained in a telephone call that Orenstein was hired as a consultant by the New York office "for the express purpose of putting this grant application together." Orenstein said he had written up the specifics of what he thought a legal aid program should do and that New York "must have transmuted this into an application for funds."

In his letter to Perkins, Meskill pointed out that Hartford County has had a legal aid program for several years, and that Neighborhood Legal Services, an OEO program, has been in operation for two years and has received grants totalling $285,000.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Patience Worn Thin

By REP. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG (R.-Wis.)

We are patient people and we have waited six months in relative silence, abiding by the wishes of our government leaders that we not upset the applecart as officials with diplomatic nicety negotiated for the release of 82 captured *Pueblo* crewmen.

As far as I am concerned, time has run out for the powder puff negotiators.

My patience, the patience of my colleagues, the patience of the American people has run out.

A fourth-rate international power imprisons 82 innocent American boys. Eighty-two, their age, seized and imprisoned at the scene of arson and rioting in our own streets, would bring down the wrath of the left-wing, liberal, welfare statists in the nation—and the same government officials, malingering over the release of the 82 *Pueblo* crewmen, would be knocking on the jail doors to free the rioters.

They have done so, as we all know, with an enthusiasm for justice sadly lacking when it comes to the *Pueblo* crew.

Somewhere within the vast framework of the federal government there must be someone with intestinal fortitude, courage and conviction sufficient to handle the propagandists of the North Korean government. If there is, let us find him and give him the authority and backing to lead us in a public, aboveboard confrontation on the issue of our 82 American boys.

It is obvious the cookie pushers are playing games with their freedom. It is a game that besmirches our American heritage; it is a game that can be ended with an ultimatum—release the *Pueblo* crew or we will come and get them.

Either we are big enough to do it or too weak to tackle it. In either event, the American people are entitled to know.

On Crime Control

By REP. GEORGE BUSH (R.-Tex.)

The concern we all feel about the problems of violence and the question of enforcing existing laws has been deeply reflected in communications from my district. I recognize the urgency of the moment, and I am totally committed to doing something about soaring crime rates in this country. I did vote for the recent crime bill with its 1) emphasis on helping local law enforcement agencies; 2) proper modification of certain Supreme Court decisions in the area of interrogation of those suspected or accused of a crime; 3) controlled wiretapping provisions; 4) limitations on handguns; and 5) prohibitions on ownership of all weapons by felons, mental incompetents, aliens illegally in our country or persons dishonorably discharged from the armed forces. I feel the Crime Control Act was good legislation, for it struck mainly at the lawbreaker. It did put important restrictions on interstate shipment of handguns—the major weapon of death by firearms. Seventy-one out of 88 firearm murders in Houston were committed with pistols. People talk about the fact that we register cars, dogs, etc., but those are not federal *registrations. I have always felt that most crime control and most police activity are state or local matters and should remain so. I strongly favor reasonable gun legislation at the state level. This could include waiting periods for purchase and training provisions for weapons use. This will not increase the size of the federal enforcement offices and will not increase the burden on the federal court system.*

Captive Nations Week

By SEN. ROMAN HRUSKA (R.-Neb.)

The observation of Captive Nations Week recognizes the yearnings of the captives. We must give them our support, for their aspirations are rightful. We are talking about 100 million people. Our accommodations and concessions are not going to improve their position unless a quid pro quo is received.

The events of the past year have not brought true freedom and independence to any of the captive nations. Millions of people in the Communist-dominated countries continue to be enslaved by their Soviet masters. They are still shackled under the tyranny and oppression which they have known for so many years. Their individual liberties and fundamental rights as human beings are still being denied. And the United Nations Charter which proclaims the principle of "equal rights and self-determination of peoples" continues to be flaunted.

We also know that the spirit of these oppressed peoples has not been broken. They have not given up their hopes for freedom. An expression of the deep desire of man for freedom can be seen in Czechoslovakia, and the new government has apparently responded to some extent. The aspirations of the youth of Poland, however, were smothered with repression and retaliation.

In order to preserve this spirit and keep alive this spark of resistance, these people of the captive nations must know that they have not been abandoned. They must have the reassurance of the free world that they have not been written off as a lost cause. To this end, Captive Nations Week has made a vital contribution. It serves as an excellent means of focusing the world's attention on the plight of these people and gives the American people an opportunity to manifest their concern.

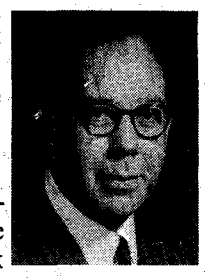
Bad Housing Bill

By REP. GLENN DAVIS (R.-Wis.)

Carried away in a wave of self-righteousness, of "doing something for the poor," the House passed a monstrous housing bill. Instead of substituting new approaches for old, nearly all conceivable approaches were piled on top of each other, a conglomerate of the new and the expanded old programs. Included are a new interest subsidy for home ownership, a new program of subsidies for rental and cooperative housing, a split of the Federal National Mortgage Association (FNMA) into two separate corporations, federally subsidized reinsurance against losses in riots or civil disorders, federal flood insurance. Nearly all of these programs have emotional or political appeal, but they can't possibly do what their apologists claim without huge expenditures of public funds, many times more than authorized in this bill. Much to my disgust, and reflecting a determination to use the already politics-ridden Department of Housing and Urban Development for unrestrained raids on the Treasury, Banking and Currency Committee members successfully led the effort to defeat, by seven votes, my amendment to bring public housing contracts under annual review by the Appropriations Committee, the same as all other contracts authorized in this bill. [*For one housing rollcall, see* Human Events *last week, page 15.*]

Travel Taxes

By REP. PAUL ROGERS (D.-Fla.)



I have noticed that the Senate has resumed hearings on the proposed tax on travel abroad. I strongly opposed this tax and feel it would in the end prove more costly and bothersome than it is worth.

We have seen testimony that if the Senate passes the proposed tax on travel, it will necessitate additional personnel in the customs department and additional personnel in the postal departments because of the processing of the mail returns tourists will be forced to file.

It is estimated that the entire revenue raised from the tax, excluding the added costs, would be about $140 million. That figure would most probably be reduced greatly when the bureaucracy needed to administer the program was built up. Of course there would also be the natural input of additional Internal Revenue Service people here in Washington, too.

On top of all this, there would be created an ocean of red tape and bookkeeping and the bill would set American tourists adrift on this bothersome sea. The whole thing is not practical or well thought out and would be all but unenforceable.

The Senate is presently holding hearings on the bill which would impose a 30 per cent tax on all money American tourists spend over $15 a day. I hope that the Senate will turn down this proposed tax.

Public School Prayers

By REP. JAMES V. SMITH (R.-Okla.)

Judging from the mail I get, the Supreme Court refusal to allow prayer in public schools is still a live issue. I introduced a resolution to amend the Constitution so nothing contained therein can be interpreted as denying persons lawfully assembled in any public building which is supported in whole or in part by public funds, the right to participate in interdenominational prayer. The House daily opens with prayer, and when we salute the flag we always say, "One Nation, under God. . . ." Following the denial of prayer to our school children, will these other things also be taken from us?

House Passes Slashed Foreign Aid Bill

Following is the 228-to-184 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives on July 18 passed a trimmed-down, $1.9-billion foreign aid bill, which was considerably less than the Administration had requested. The measure is now on the Senate side, where more cuts seem likely. Since this bill is only an authorization bill, there may be further reductions when the House votes on the actual appropriations for foreign assistance.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 158

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Anderson(Tenn.)
Annunzio
Ashley
Aspinall
Barrett
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brooks
Burke (Mass.)
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Carey
Celler
Clark
Cohelan
Conyers
Corman
Culver
Daddario
Daniels
Dawson
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dow
Downing
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards (Calif.)
Eilberg
Evans (Colo.)
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Flood
Foley
Ford, Wm.
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton (Tenn.)
Gallagher
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Griffiths
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen (Wash.)
Hardy
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hechler (W. Va.)
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson (Calif.)
Jones (Ala.)
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Kelly
King(Calif.)
Kluczynski
Kyros
Leggett
Long (Md.)
McCarthy
McFall
Macdonald
Madden
Mahon
Matsunaga
Meeds
Miller (Calif.)
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
O'Neill (Mass.)
Ottinger
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Podell
Price (Ill.)
Pryor
Pucinski
Purcell
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Rodino
Rogers (Colo.)
Ronan
Rooney (N.Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Selden
Sisk
Slack
Smith (Iowa)
Stratton
Sullivan
Teague (Tex.)
Tenzer
Thompson (N.J.)
Tiernan
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Wilson (Calif.)
Wolff
Wright
Yates
Young
Zablocki

REPUBLICANS FOR: 70

Anderson (Ill.)
Arends
Ayres
Bates
Bell
Biester
Bolton
Broomfield
Brotzman
Bush
Button
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cahill
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Curtis
Dellenback
Dwyer
Erlenborn
Esch
Ford, Gerald
Frelinghuysen
Fulton (Pa.)
Goodell
Gubser
Gude
Halleck
Halpern
Heckler (Mass.)
Horton
Hosmer
Keith
Kupferman
McClory
McCloskey
McDade
McEwen
MacGregor
Mailliard
Mathias (Calif.)
Mathias (Md.)
May
Mayne
Morse
Morton
Mosher
Nelsen
Pelly
Pirnie
Quie
Railsback
Reid (N.Y.)
Riegle
Robison
Rumsfeld
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Smith (N.Y.)
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Taft
Teague (Calif.)
Whalen
Widnall
Wiggins
Wilson, Bob
Wydler

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 72

Abbitt
Abernethy
Andrews(Ala.)
Ashmore
Baring
Bennett
Bevill
Blanton
Brinkley
Brown (Calif.)
Burleson
Cabell
Casey
Colmer
Davis (Ga.)
de la Garza
Delaney
Dorn
Dowdy
Edwards (La.)
Fisher
Flynt
Fountain
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gathings
Gettys
Griffin
Hagan
Haley
Hays
Henderson
Hull
Hungate
Ichord
Jarman
Jones (Mo.)
Jones (N.C.)
Landrum
Lennon
Long (La.)
McMillan
Marsh
Montgomery
Morris (N.M.)
Natcher
Nichols
O'Neal (Ga.)
Passman
Poage
Randall
Rarick
Rivers
Roberts
Rogers (Fla.)
Roush
Satterfield
Shipley
Sikes
Staggers
Steed
Stephens
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Taylor
Tuck
Waggonner
Walker
Watts
White
Whitener
Whitten

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 112

Adair
Andrews (N.D.)
Ashbrook
Battin
Belcher
Berry
Betts
Blackburn
Bow
Bray
Brock
Brown (Mich.)
Brown (Ohio)
Broyhill (N.C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Burke (Fla.)
Burton (Utah)
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Cowger
Cramer
Cunningham
Davis (Wis.)
Denney
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Duncan
Edwards (Ala.)
Eshleman
Findley
Gardner
Goodling
Gross
Grover
Gurney
Hall
Hammerschmidt
Hansen (Idaho)
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey
Hunt
Hutchinson
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas
King (N.Y.)
Kleppe
Kuykendall
Kyl
Langen
Latta
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Lukens
McClure
McCulloch
McDonald (Mich.)
Martin
Meskill
Michel
Miller (Ohio)
Mize
Moore
Myers
Pettis
Poff
Pollock
Price (Tex.)
Quillen
Reid (Ill.)
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Roth
Roudebush
Ruppe
Sandman
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Scott
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Smith (Okla.)
Snyder
Steiger (Ariz.)
Steiger (Wis.)
Talcott
Thompson (Ga.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Utt
Vander Jagt
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Whalley
Williams (Pa.)
Winn
Wyatt
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NOT VOTING: or ANSWERED "PRESENT": 20

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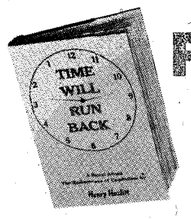

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